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The Shape of Things

MIDSUMMER IS AT HAND BUT IN RUSSIA THE battle lines remain much as they were at the end of the winter. The only appreciable Nazi success has been the recapture of Kerch, which cannot easily be exploited as a stepping stone to the Caucasus until Sevastapol is also taken. That, however, is a very tough nut and while the present desperate and costly German attacks may eventually crack it the Red Army is bent on exacting the highest possible price. Elsewhere in Russia there is intense but localized fighting with a second Nazi thrust in the Kharkov region producing many German claims but so far no concrete results. Up to date, it would appear, Hitler has not yet decided to commit his full reserves to an all-out offensive in the east. Part of them, at least, are still available for use in western Europe should the second front develop from a threat to a fact. Meanwhile the Axis is struggling hard to build its own second front in the Middle East. The battle for Tobruk is still inconclusive but General Rommel has retained the offensive and has forced the evacuation of the two anchors of the British line, El Gazala on the coast and Bir Hacheim in the desert—a name that will live because of the magnificent resistance there of the free, and fighting, French. As we write, a great battle is going on in the Mediterranean between a powerful British convoy and Axis air forces. While Rome claims tremendous successes, which are almost certainly exaggerated, no word can be expected from the British until the ships reach their destination. However, the dispatch of a large convoy by this dangerous route suggests anxiety about the position in the Middle East.

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THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION OF ATTU AND possibly others of the western Aleutian Islands does not appear to create an immediate or serious threat to the main American base at Dutch Harbor. But if the United Nations were to launch a drive against the Japanese from the North, airplanes, troops, and supplies would have to be moved along or near the island chain. This could not be done safely as long as the Japanese possess outposts anywhere in the Aleutians. A strong Japanese base on Attu would be particularly valuable to the enemy in the event of a war between Japan and the Soviet Union,

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since it would enable the Nipponese to outflank the Soviet positions of the Kamchatka Peninsula and hinder American aid from getting through to Siberia. However the immediate Japanese objective is, almost certainly, the knocking out of our base at Dutch Harbor which they regard as a potential menace to Japan itself. The latest advices suggest that their forces in the northern Pacific are quite large, but our army and navy flyers are not allowing them the leisure to settle down and establish bases which could be used as stepping stones for a further advance eastward. One enemy cruiser has already been sunk and a number of other vessels severely damaged, including an aircraft carrier.

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NOT CONTENT WITH REVENGING HEYDRICH by shooting hundreds of "suspects" the Nazis have added a new and horrifying page to their barbarous record by wiping out a whole Czech township. This is not, alas, an unsubstantiated atrocity story but a deed officially announced by the Berlin radio. Investigation had shown, it declared, that the assassins of Heydrich had been given shelter and assistance in the town of Lidice, and for this and other "crimes" all adult males were shot, the women sent to concentration camps, the children removed to "appropriate educational institutions," and the town levelled to the ground. This new peak in Nazi frightfulness has led to a widespread demand for reprisals. Major George Fielding Eliot has suggested that a list of ten German villages of similar size should be drawn up and announcement made by the United Nations that one of these villages would be destroyed from the air during a certain week. This would give away no military secrets and would put on the German government responsibility for removing women and children. Ingenious as this scheme is we doubt if it would save many victims of the Gestapo and we shrink from imitating the Nazi policy of vicarious atonement. We are more favorably inclined to a proposal made by Gaetano Salvemini, who will elaborate it in a forthcoming article—a proposal for a solemn compact between the members of the United Nations agreeing to hold individually responsible for Nazi crimes the whole Nazi party hierarchy, the German generals, and the high civil servants, diplomats, and other leading officials. Let it be publicly and continuously announced that for every Nazi execution one of these men will forfeit his life at the end of the war. Such a policy might save some innocent lives now and ward off an eventual undiscriminating and bloody revenge on the German people as a whole.

*

THE POLICY OF APPEASING VICHY WHICH was shelved for a few weeks after Laval returned to power is now being dusted off for a new trial. Shipments of fuel-oil, food, and clothing to French North Africa are being resumed, and the State Department is said to be satisfied that this operation can be "insulated from Europe." It is a little difficult to see how this is to be achieved since many reliable observers have reported a steady flow of food products from North Africa to France and the regular requisition of the bulk of such shipments by the Nazis. However, the State Department is ready to overlook this fact, just as it is ready to overlook Laval's mobilization of French industry for the benefit of the Nazis, so long as Vichy doesn't translate collaboration into terms of overt military aid to the Axis. In his first public interview after his return from France Ambassador Leahy defended this policy of clinging to Vichy in an amazing series of contradictory statements. Admitting that the French people were practically unanimously anti-Axis, he declared that the only way of maintaining our traditional friendship with them was through the agency of the French government. By maintaining diplomatic relations, he said, it was possible "to assist the French people in keeping alive their hope for eventual deliverance from their oppressors." How this hope is to be fostered by giving moral and physical support to a government which notoriously takes its orders from the same oppressors, Admiral Leahy did not explain. As he stressed his "high personal regard" for Pétain it may be that he, and the State Department, are still clinging to the belief that the aged marshal retains some power of independent action. This is a difficult theory to defend in view of Pétain's recent declaration of complete confidence in Laval.

*

A SERIOUS SHORTAGE OF MANPOWER—which is inevitable in total warfare—is already weakening Germany's war capacity, according to a pamphlet written by Fritz Sternberg and published by the Brookings Institution. Mr. Sternberg estimates that at least one-half of Germany's most productive manpower has been drafted into the army. During the first two years of the war, Germany was able to make up the deficiency by drawing upon women workers, foreign labor, and war prisoners. But today, with considerably more men under arms than in 1940 or 1941, such replacement has become impossible. Efforts to enlist men over 65 years of age and to draw on married women have yielded negligible results. Despite a vigorous campaign to attract workers from occupied Europe, estimates indicate an increase of only 400,000 such workers in the past year. Although Germany may have several million war prisoners, it has hesitated to make any use of the Russian prisoners in industry for fear of sabotage. In any case Mr. Sternberg believes that it will be quite impossible to close the gap created by the withdrawal of five million men for military service this year. Under these circumstances he considers a further increase in Germany's output of war materials

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out of the question and predicts a substantial reduction, possibly of 15 to 30 per cent. Such a reduction will not, however, seriously affect Germany's striking power in 1942. It can be expected to deal its heaviest blows this year. If the United Nations can withstand these blows and impose further heavy losses on the Reich, Germany's inferiority in manpower may prove a decisive factor.

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CHILE'S STAND AGAINST THE AXIS HAS BEEN strengthened by three recent events: the entry of Mexico into the war, the protest of the Argentine government on the torpedoing of the Victoria, and the punishment inflicted by our navy on the Japanese fleet. Any anti-Axis move, however timid, by Argentina reduces the danger of totalitarian intrigues from Buenos Aires against the Chilean government, while the Pacific battle has considerably lessened the fear of many Chileans of the eventual bombardment of its long coast by Japan. Consequently Chile now feels better able to follow its natural pro-democratic inclinations. The political revival there is having the double effect of increasing the repression of domestic and foreign fascist activities and of enlarging the zone of public opinion in favor of a break with the Axis. Under the leadership of Oscar Schnacke, the able Minister of Public Works, who only a year ago was bitterly attacked by the Communists, a strong bloc has been created with the participation of the Socialists, Señor Schnacke's own party, Democrats, Communists, and a section of the Radical Party. It is the old *Frente Popular* coming to life again under the more palatable name of *Frente Democrático*. Though for a while it looked as if President Rios resented the vigor with which his most important minister had advocated breaking off relations with the Axis, mutual explanations have cleared the new group of any anti-Rios tendency.

*

IN ARGENTINA, TOO, THINGS HAVE NOT been moving lately entirely according to the pleasure of Berlin. We must be careful not to exaggerate the importance of Señor Ruiz Guiñazú's protest to the German government. We remember that in the last war diplomatic protests were constantly combined with the most scandalous behind-the-scenes complicity, and in many cases the only result of such protests was to provide a new opportunity for the complaining "neutral" to acknowledge publicly the good faith and gentlemanly behavior of the government responsible for the aggression. But genuine or not, the Argentine protest has given the press and political parties a chance to discuss in public the methods Nazi Germany uses to show its love for its favorite country in Latin America. A good start was made in the recent debate in Congress when the Radical deputy, Damonte Taborda, disclosed new activities of Nazi agents and strongly attacked Foreign Minister Guiñazú for having attended a meeting at which some of the speakers abused the United States in the crudest terms. He also denounced Guiñazú for having welcomed to Buenos Aires the Spanish Phalangist delegation sent by Franco and Hitler to conclude a new barter agreement. In his speech Guiñazú insolently declared that Argentina was determined to have Franco's Spain serve as a go-between for trade with Europe, including Germany, and added that it would "not allow any foreign interference to deflect it from that determination."

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THE APPOINTMENT OF ELMER DAVIS TO head the new Office of War Information is a matter of congratulation for everyone concerned, except, perhaps, Mr. Davis, who is too much of a realist not to appreciate fully the arduous nature of his task. The reorganization of the government news services is long overdue and consolidation of existing agencies into one cohesive and coherent body will call for the ruthless use of the ax. But worse than overlapping and inefficiency in this field has been the lack of clear policies both in regard to information at home and to propaganda abroad. Mr. Davis's principal function, it appears, is to be that of policy maker and it is one for which his training and abilities fit him admirably. In the past few years of crisis he has become familiar to millions as the most incisive and clear-headed of the radio news commentators, but for much longer than that he has been known to a rather smaller circle as a pungent writer on current affairs. His devotion to the cause of democracy has never led him into wishful thinking and we can depend on him, so far as it lies within his power, to give us the facts and nothing but the facts. It must be noted, however, that the authority conferred on Mr. Davis by the President's order is subject to distinct limitations. The service departments will, of course, continue to have the final word on what military news is released. Moreover, both the Office of Censorship and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs are to retain their independent status. Why the latter should be exempt from reorganization is an unexplained mystery. Certainly there is nothing in its record to justify this distinction and from the point of view of political strategy there is everything to be said for coordinating our propaganda to Europe with our propaganda to Latin America.

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IN THE LEXICON OF THE FBI AND THE CIVIL Service Commission—the lexicon seems to be Mrs. Dilling's "Red Network"—a Communist is anyone who ever happened to take the same side, on any issue, as the Communist Party. *PM* estimates that as a result some two hundred liberals have been dismissed from government jobs for such crimes as supporting the Loyalist government in the Spanish civil war, advocating collective

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security, or criticizing the Dies Committee. On the other hand, we have never heard of an investigator who was at all interested in finding out whether or not a given candidate had fascist leanings. *PM* has also been printing some of the outrageous and often illegal questions put to prospective or incumbent government employees. They include not only queries as to political opinions and religious beliefs, but insulting questions, amounting to insinuations, about matters personal and private. As Elmer Davis said in an excellent broadcast on the subject a few weeks ago, the investigators sent out by the FBI and the Civil Service seem to be ignorant and naive rather than vicious; but the persistent red-baiting pattern of the investigations and the consistency with which only liberals are fired give strong color to the suspicion that officials higher up in both agencies are neither ignorant nor naive. It is time we discovered who is responsible for the idiotic and dangerous procedure by which men and women appointed to government jobs because they are known anti-fascists are forthwith dismissed—for the same reason.

Congress Tax Strike

CONSERVATIVE members of the House may be outraged to have their actions characterized in such terms, but it is quite apparent that the Ways and Means Committee is engaged in a sitdown strike against the Administration's anti-inflation program. The issues of tax policy, as we have repeatedly pointed out, are basic not only in the successful prosecution of the war but in determining the kind of world that we shall live in after it is over. In order to prevent a runaway inflation the President formulated and dispatched to Congress a carefully worked out, comprehensive program for cushioning our economy against the effects of the war.

The first item in what the President described as our "national economic policy" was that we must "tax heavily" in order to soak up the excess purchasing power created by the war-production program. As an illustration of what he meant by "tax heavily" the President suggested that no American ought to have a net income of more than $25,000 after he has paid his taxes. A concrete program for raising nearly $9,000,000,000 in new taxes had already been presented by the Treasury.

The House Ways and Means Committee not only ignored the President's request for a heavy tax on persons with high incomes but during the past few weeks has been steadily whittling down the Treasury's program in practically every category. First, it cut the projected tax on corporations from 55 per cent to 40 per cent. Then the proposed tax on individuals with incomes of $5,000 a year and upward was drastically slashed. A suggested increase in estate and gift taxes was turned down flatly. Action on a withholding tax was postponed. And in the past week the committee pared down the excise-tax rates proposed by the Treasury on a series of luxury articles. The Treasury wanted $236,000,000 additional in tobacco taxes; the committee allowed only $105,600,000. A suggested increase in the tax on rail transportation was cut in half, and a request for an additional tax on Pullman accommodations was rejected outright. Proposed increases in the tax on motor oil and liquors were likewise dealt with harshly. As a result of these cuts the committee's tax bill will fall short by nearly $3,000,000,000 of the sum requested by the Administration.

This sabotaging of the Treasury's tax program seems to have been deliberately planned by some members of the committee with a view to forcing the Administration to countenance a sales tax. There are reports that these tactics are succeeding. They, of course, represent a conscious effort, backed by an important section of the press, to force a greater share of the burden of the war on the poor. Taxes on luxuries are rejected in the hope of placing a levy on necessities. The President's appeal for sacrifices by the rich is ignored, and in its place the committee would impose a flat tax which would fall most heavily on those with the least money.

Faced by increased opposition from their constituents to a sales tax, some Congressmen are reported to be suggesting that the tax bill be left as it is—$3,000,000,000 short of Treasury estimates. This is the most irresponsible and dangerous proposal of all. At best the Treasury program was several billions short of closing the gap between increased purchasing power and the declining supply of goods. For a time it was hoped that this gap might be nearly closed by voluntary purchases of war bonds by individuals, but it is now apparent that this cannot possibly be achieved. If the gap is to be further widened by the committee's refusal to levy the taxes requested by the Treasury, it is obvious that the entire anti-inflation program will be gravely threatened. The price ceilings cannot possibly withstand much additional pressure, and once shattered, their restoration would be a difficult if not a hopeless undertaking. Their shattering, moreover, would have a most adverse effect on the immediate war-production program.

As a face-saving measure, perhaps the most effective step that the Ways and Means Committee could take at this moment would be to resurrect the proposal for a 10 per cent withholding tax on all incomes over $25 a week, and the early enactment of the plan. For a dollar that is collected this year and spent for the immediate purchase of war equipment may be more effective as an anti-inflation measure than two dollars, raised by whatever method, in 1943. If the House members were as interested in speeding the war effort and protecting the nation's economy as in political expediency they would not have allowed this proposal to be sidetracked.

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Russia and the Future

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

RUMOR blossomed into momentous fact when the coalition among Russia, Britain, and the United States was announced last Friday. The decisions taken in London and Washington tower over the military and naval actions of a week of great events. Britain and Russia are linked in a full alliance binding for twenty years. Russia and the United States are held by an unwritten pledge of mutual assistance in the war and after and by a lease-lend agreement promising full support in arms and all other supplies. All three powers reached a verbal accord on "the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942."

The importance of these agreements cannot be exaggerated. For Britain and Russia, the treaty of alliance wipes out two decades of suspicion, and the Soviet Union becomes Britain's chief military ally on the Continent. That the understanding with the United States is less explicit is due, quite obviously, to two things: our remoteness from the chief European battlefields and our nearness to the next Congressional elections. It is unfortunate that hang-over symptoms of isolationism should be strong enough to influence policy for war or peace; but I am inclined to think the President did well not to pitch the issue of a long-range alliance with Russia into the political debate. Our commitments are both material and moral; they take the form of acts rather than written agreements; and they bind us for the future as well as for the duration of the war. For better or worse the United States is "in" the peace as irrevocably as it is in the war. And I think the agreement with Russia has strengthened the hands of those who hope this country will take the role of liberator rather than policeman.

But it must be admitted, even now that Molotov is safely back in Moscow and the agreements have been signed and published and approved, that the future is still obscure. It lies across blackened fields and the seas that mercifully hide the victims of fascist mania. It lies beyond a political battlefield as wide as the world. The future still must be fought for and won. The agreements made in Washington and London are only a blueprint. To carry them into effect, the Allied governments must not only send great armies to new fronts and speed their production and delivery of weapons; they must also adopt new and revolutionary policies to make good their implicit promise of a democratic peace.

On another page of this issue J. Alvarez del Vayo discusses the forces which, from one generation to the next, have tried to keep the peace poised on a delicate balance of conflicting power and interest. This system was in direct conflict with the hope that animated the idealistic designers of the League of Nations. But the Treaty of Versailles reconstituted a European balance of power and the League became its instrument. The principle of cooperation between equal sovereign states, which alone could have created a system of collective security, was never given more than lip-service by the major powers at Geneva. Not even the adherence of the United States, in my opinion, would have tilted the balance against the rising threat of the fascist powers. It is true that America's isolation weakened the forces that tried to use the League to defeat aggression; but it is, alas, equally true that the mighty weight of this country, when it was employed at all, was used to reinforce the hesitations and appeasements of the British Foreign Office and the Quai d'Orsay. Would it have served a different purpose—the purpose of collective security—if the United States had been a member of the League? I have never been able to convince myself that it would. For to this day, balance-of-power diplomacy is the diplomacy of the American State Department.

Cheering millions all over the Soviet Union greeted the new agreements with the United States and Britain; they were read aloud to Red Army soldiers and factory workers and the farmers in the collectives and explained as harbingers of a victorious struggle and a democratic peace. It is to be supposed that those millions went back to their guns and machines sustained by a new sense of international solidarity; the old vision of collective security lay as the end of the bloody road ahead. And it is improbable that they read in *Pravda* or their regimental newspaper that on the very day when the new coalition was proclaimed, Secretary Hull announced the resumption of shipments of food and other supplies from America to the Vichy government in North Africa.

No promises, no pacts, no fine speeches by Welles or even Wallace or Winant, can wipe out the demoralizing effect of the old diplomacy pursuing its old discredited maneuvers while the struggle against fascism reaches a climax of danger and effort. The inner conflicts that corrode the integrity of the anti-Axis powers will have to be ended before the victory of democracy is assured. Even when the longed-for second front is opened, its effect will be doubled if the armies of revolution which wait to join the armies of invasion know they are fighting for freedom and not for some new brand of despotism approved by the balance-of-power advocates in the Allied foreign offices.

The questions raised in the article by J. Alvarez del Vayo deserve more than passing attention, particularly now when the agreements with Russia focus public attention on the problems of the coming peace. *The Nation* has asked a number of persons of widely differing points of view to discuss briefly some of the chief issues touched upon by Mr. del Vayo. Their comments will appear in subsequent issues.

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Biddle and the Facts

BY I. F. STONE

II

Washington, June 11

JUDGE SEARS relied on the testimony of two witnesses to prove that Bridges was a member of the Communist Party. One of the two, as we saw last week, makes a peculiar witness. James D. O'Neil was alleged to have said that he saw Bridges putting stamps in a Communist Party membership book. Actually, on the stand and under oath, O'Neil denied that he had made any statement of that kind. Sears, and Biddle after him, chose to believe what O'Neil was supposed to have told Department of Justice agents and to disbelieve what O'Neil said on the stand. Their position with respect to the other witness was just the opposite. Harry Lundeberg admitted that on three different occasions he told Department of Justice agents that he had no evidence to link Bridges with the Communist Party. On the stand Lundeberg testified that Bridges told him he was a member of the party. In this case Sears, and Biddle, chose to believe what Lundeberg said on the stand rather than what he admits he said before.

Lundeberg is the only witness believed by Sears who actually testified that Bridges was a Communist. His testimony is therefore worth closer examination. Sears thought Lundeberg's testimony against Bridges was given in "natural, rugged, hard-bitten fashion." A few excerpts from the record will let the reader judge for himself.

Lundeberg testified that he had dinner with Bridges at the latter's home in the summer of 1935. That was six years before the hearing. Lundeberg said the Communist leader, Sam Darcy, was there. Lundeberg's first answer, when asked to tell all that happened at the dinner, was, "Well, I don't remember the details. We talked about various things on the waterfront, and unions, and so forth. Darcy asked lots of questions. It was a general conversation." A little later Lundeberg was asked whether Darcy asked him "to do something." Lundeberg then replied that Darcy asked him to join the Communist Party. Lundeberg was next asked whether Darcy said "anything about Bridges being a member of the Communist Party in Bridges's presence." Lundeberg answered, "He mentioned several people who were members of the Communist Party." Counsel for the government persisted: "What did he say about Bridges?"

A. Well, he said he was a member of the Communist Party.

Q. What did Bridges say?

A. Well, he says, 'You don't have to be afraid because nobody has to know you are a member of the Communist Party if you join.'

Q. Did Bridges join Sam Darcy in urging you to join the Communist Party? *A.* No.

Counsel for the government pressed Lundeberg harder, with Sears breaking in to protect the witness. Lundeberg was asked whether Darcy or Bridges had said anything else at the time, but couldn't remember. Lundeberg was asked whether he joined the Communist Party. "I should say not," was the reply. The questioning continued:

Q. Generally, in substance, what did Bridges say? We don't expect you, of course, to remember the exact words or the—(Sears broke in).

Sears: Have you given the substance as far as you remember it?

Lundeberg: Well, the substance was, as I told you, that Darcy asked me to join the Communist Party and Bridges says, 'You don't have to be afraid because I am one too,' and the old stuff, and the conversation was friendly all the way through, and I just laughed at it and forgot about it.

So it was that, on the third try, counsel for the government got Lundeberg to testify that Bridges had said that he was a Communist. The impression is not that of testimony in "natural, rugged, hard-bitten fashion" but at best of a witness whose recollection six years later is understandably hazy. Yet this vague testimony, from a bitter trade-union rival of Bridges, is the best the Department of Justice and the FBI had to offer. The Board of Immigration Appeals, in reversing Sears, felt after a survey of all the evidence that "Lundeberg impresses neither in truthfulness nor in forthrightness." The board found unanimously "that the dinner conversation as testified to by Lundeberg did not occur, that Darcy was not present on that occasion, and that Bridges made no admission of Communist Party membership."

The board believed none of the witnesses who said Bridges was a member of the party. Sears himself, as we have seen, believed only Lundeberg's testimony. The Attorney General would like to believe them all. He says of the witnesses rejected by Sears as well as the board, "Although Judge Sears concluded that their evidence, for one reason or another, did not establish membership in or affiliation with the Communist Party, taken as a whole it cannot, because of its volume, be completely disregarded." This would seem to say that in matters of proof quantity can be a substitute for quality.

Biddle mentions Sam Diner and Maurice J. Cannalonga among those whose evidence "cannot, because of its volume, be completely disregarded." The Attorney General seems willing to trust the judgment of Sears as to "demeanor and expression" when it is against

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Bridges but not when it is for him. Sears said of Diner that he "was not an impressive witness." He said of Cannalonga, "I have come to the conclusion, upon a consideration of all the evidence, that no reliance is to be placed upon any testimony offered by this witness."

A reading of the record reflects the readiness of the FBI, under J. Edgar Hoover, and the Immigration Service, under Biddle's appointee, Major Lemuel B. Schofield, to fish in some pretty muddy waters in their anxiety to "get" Bridges. On Sears's own findings, there was among the government's witnesses against Bridges a Communist who was a labor spy for the Los Angeles police, a thief, a confirmed drunkard, and a man on parole after murdering his wife.

The question of affiliation with the Communist Party is a much more difficult one than that of membership, and it would take far more space than can be given to it to analyze the evidence on this score. In part, this evidence comes from the same witnesses; in part, from Bridges's connections with the *Waterfront Worker*. Of the witnesses it can be said that their credibility is in inverse proportion to the importance of their testimony. Sears believed Howard Rushmore's testimony that Bridges praised the Youth Congress in July, 1935, and was treated as "a sacred cow" in the Communist press. But he disbelieved the wild tale told by William C. McQuistion and Peter J. Innes of arranging a secret phone call from the Communist "Politbureau" in New York to Bridges in California. The strongest point in the government's case on affiliation lies in the *Waterfront Worker*, but a reading of Sears, the board, and Biddle leaves one with reasonable doubts.

One who studies Biddle's opinion alone, or only Biddle and Sears, will picture the *Waterfront Worker* as advising its readers "to read Communist literature." The Immigration Service charged that it "continually advised its readers" to do so. But the board's opinion discloses that the service was able to find only three instances of this in the more than three years of the paper's existence. In January, 1933, it recommended Dunne's pamphlet on the 1934 strike. In March, 1934, it advised the reading of the *Western Worker*. In November, 1934, it placed both the *Western Worker* and the *Daily Worker* in the category of the "workers' press," which it urged its subscribers to read. The board says this advice was accompanied with a full exposition of the reasons therefor. It was, as the board summarizes it, "not intended to convey approval of them *qua* Communist publications but was based on an asserted contrast between their truthfulness on labor matters and that of the Hearst press." Biddle does not refute the facts on which the board found that the *Waterfront Worker*, during Bridges's connection with it, "was not an organ of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union or of the Communist Party." Biddle does little more than summarize Sears and say that the latter's conclusions are "not unwarranted."

Nor will one find in the Biddle opinion any refutation of the board's summary of facts which in its words "look the other way" on the question of affiliation:

> Bridges supported "Ham and Eggs," a bitterly fought political issue in California. The Communist Party was opposed to it. In the last election Bridges supported the position taken by John L. Lewis—contrary to the attitude taken by the Communist Party. He differed with Walter Stack, a prominent Communist, on the question of affiliating the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (apparently to the C.I.O.). Stack opposed it. Bridges was for it. A committee of which Bridges was chairman investigated and rejected, during the 1934 strike, an offer of legal assistance from the International Labor Defense, found by the Presiding Inspector [Sears] to be a Communist organization whose "immediate purpose is to assist and defend Communists who encounter legal difficulties by providing bail, lawyers, and other assistance." Bridges was opposed to the position of the M.W.I.U. that longshoremen, teamsters, engineers, and seamen should all be in one union.

The Attorney General is telling friends that, after all, the case will still go to the courts, but he knows that this Supreme Court, after its rulings in regulatory cases, will find it most difficult to reverse findings of fact by an administrative officer. The Attorney General has shown a great reluctance to "infringe civil liberties" when dealing with the right. The Bridges case shows he has fewer qualms when dealing with the left.

The new interdepartmental committee to smell out radicals in the government circulated Biddle's decision on Bridges the day after it was handed down. "Certain portions," said the accompanying letter, "may be of interest in connection with the investigations of federal employees upon which the FBI is now reporting." One of those portions is this one in Biddle's decision: "Other Communist front organizations were the International Labor Defense, whose immediate purpose was to defend Communists but among whose members were many non-Communists unaware of its Communist control, the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, the American Negro Labor Congress, and the American League Against War and Fascism." There were few "innocents" in the I. L. D., many in the League Against War and Fascism. Under Biddle's ruling membership in the league will become grounds for dismissal.

I have kept closely to the facts and the law. I would like to say in conclusion that the whole case suggests absolutism in decay rather than democracy in action: the long persecution of a workers' leader, the use of the secret police for political purposes, the mobilization of witnesses from the dregs of society, the readiness of an upper-class liberal to serve as the tool of these forces.

[*The first part of this article appeared last week.*]

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World War III?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

SOME day the war will end with the victory of the United Nations, but the joy with which we look forward to that day is disturbed by the thought that the old diplomacy may reappear at the peace table. It is a diplomacy which, judged by its accomplishments in recent years, is as inept at war as it was at peace. It failed when the moment called for a gesture of conciliation, and it failed again when circumstances required energy and boldness.

It failed to take advantage of the "year of hope," 1924, when a rare coincidence, the first and last between one war and another, brought progressive governments to power both in England and in France: in England the Laborites; in France, Herriot and Briand, supported by an electorate which had declared itself definitely against *Poincaré-la-guerre* in one of the few French elections where foreign policy relegated domestic issues to second place. This was the great opportunity to revitalize the flaccid Weimar democracy and to win from Germany a policy of cooperation. It failed again when Hitler occupied the Rhineland—a moment which called for energetic action, the dispatch of an ultimatum accompanied by a couple of divisions of French troops. And from that fateful day it has sunk lower and lower.

In any other field of human activity officials who present a balance sheet of insolvency year after year are usually deprived of their directive functions. But one can still see the bankrupt diplomacy which was responsible for the war not only perservering in its old errors but confident that when hostilities cease it will have a decisive influence in organizing the world of tomorrow. It would be puerile to attribute this extraordinary vitality to the whim of statesmen, to the interplay of party struggles, or to personal influence. Its power lies in the fact that it is one of the instruments of an economic system which refuses to disappear, and which will stop at nothing to prevent the People's Revolution, proclaimed by Vice-President Wallace, from taking place. Since its function and *raison d'être* is to assure the survival of the *status quo,* diplomacy in the service of vested interests thinks predominantly in terms of the balance of power. Its guiding spirit, if it may be said to have one, leads it toward those solutions in which the concessions that must be made, however great they may appear on the surface, never compromise the basis of the present social system.

Of typically Florentine origin, a happy invention of the Medicis toward the turbulent end of the sixteenth century, the balance of power is offered as the magic remedy in each great crisis which threatens the established order. It always comes wrapped up in the loftiest proposals and is offered as an instrument for the maintenance of peace. Ever since the Congress of Vienna the balance of power has been a favorite and successful trick used to cheat the people when the hour of their real liberation has seemed to be drawing near.

Of the Congress of Vienna little remains in men's minds except the brilliance of its social splendor and the fascinating personalities of its principal characters. Gossip of the antechamber told how Metternich lost southern Bavaria because on the morning when the decisive discussion took place he lingered in the arms of the *"maigre et ardente"* Duchesse de Sagan. We have Talleyrand displaying at the same time the most contradictory qualities—fawning and threatening, ironical and solemn, chatty and impenetrable. Yet despite its air of frivolity, the congress was a meeting of statesmen called to decide the fate of the entire civilized world and to accomplish not only the liquidation of the Napoleonic dream but the reconstruction of Europe with a view to creating a permanent equilibrium.

The program could not have been more noble or more ambitious. According to Metternich's definition, given in his inaugural address, the purpose of the Congress of Vienna was the reconstruction of the moral order, the regeneration of the political system of Europe, the establishment of a lasting peace based on a just division of forces—and all that "in the name of the eternal law." Nor did the Congress lack an expression of international public opinion, to the extent that public opinion was able to make itself felt at the time. The desires of liberal England, reflected freely in the pulpit and in the press, were made known in Vienna in a manner sufficiently insistent to exasperate the British plenipotentiaries. Each delegation felt obliged, from time to time, to say something agreeable to the ears of the people, who took the promises of the Coalition seriously. But they were only words, as we learn from the memoirs of von Gentz, that master of indiscretion and intimate adviser of Metternich. "The true purpose of the congress," wrote von Gentz, "was the division among the conquerors of the spoils of the conquered."

But even that was only its immediate task: its ultimate objective was to save autocracy from the dangers that threatened it from all sides. Under its inspiration the sovereigns of Europe assumed the role of *gendarmes* of reaction. It was able to combine admirably the desire

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for a lasting peace with the principle of legitimacy by creating a barrier against any possible movement of the people. In the name of legitimacy, a number of dynasties were restored to their thrones and possessions—the House of Savoy to Sardinia, the House of Orange to Holland, the Bourbons to Spain. The balance of power was established with a very clear purpose: "to burn out of Europe with red-hot irons the gangrene of the Revolution."

II

Actually, it was the "Big Four" at the Congress of Vienna, the representatives of England, Prussia, and Russia, and Metternich, who parceled out provinces and colonies among the crowned autocrats and decreed peace. The number seems fatefully prophetic. Four was also the number of individuals in whom, a hundred years later, was concentrated the power to reorganize the world.

At Paris as at Vienna the future of peoples was resolved without giving the peoples themselves the last word in the decisions taken. Social security, the economic existence of the great masses which were crushed and ruined in the war, scarcely weighed in the deliberations of these artisans of peace. From many points of view the similarity between Vienna and Versailles is great, although their principal protagonists were cast in a different mold. It would be absurd to try to establish a parallel between Metternich and Clemenceau, beyond the fact that they both knew exactly what they wanted. And certainly, with respect to any oppositon to his desire to run the whole show, Clemenceau found in Wilson no second Talleyrand. Apart from the idea of the League of Nations, the American President had nothing to offer; shut up in a room with Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando, Wilson was lost. Not only was he personally ill-informed about the condition and the feeling of the peoples of Europe, but the discussions almost always developed on the basis of a British or a French draft from the complications of which he saw no way out.

Along with Wilson, the other idealists at Paris had to console themselves with the thought that once the machinery of the League of Nations had been set up, other difficulties would be solved in the course of time. That hope of seeing a really international organization substituted for the balance of power provided the frail basis for the optimism of those who, as Harold Nicolson tells us in "Peacemaking, 1919," journeyed to Paris "not merely to liquidate the war but to found a new order in Europe; not to prepare Peace only, but Eternal Peace."

But even before the delegations had left Paris, the shrewdest and most honest observers began to doubt the efficacy of the work accomplished there. The conference had not produced a people's peace. Worst of all, no instrument had been created which would assure to world democracy a direct share in the control of international affairs. The maintenance of a peace very badly put together was left entirely to a few governments composed of men brought up on the idea of unlimited nationalism, and devoted entirely to the old form of society which had made their careers possible.

It would have been different if the people could have made themselves heard in the deliberations of the League of Nations. From the moment that fascism established itself in Italy there was in Europe a popular anti-fascist current strong enough to have forced the adoption at Geneva of a policy of resistance to violent and unilateral solutions of international problems. But the defenders of the existing economic order saw in fascism an effective means of creating a new balance of power against any possible advance of a democracy which might try to go too far. Thus, just as Metternich bound the peace of Europe to the idea of legitimacy and survival of the reigning dynasties of the time, the lesser Metternichs of the period following 1919 joined the idea of the stability of Europe to the survival of the capitalist regime which they served.

They encouraged the existence of a few fascist countries as a check against any country which might move too close to socialism. Thus was invented the theory that it was possible for aggressor nations and those which respected international law to live together and even to sign mutual agreements.

But for anyone not influenced by a secret attraction to fascism as a weight in the balance against a too progressive democracy, it was evident that the very character of fascism, the psychology of its leaders, its economic program, its tendency to seek in foreign adventure a solution of its internal problems, led fatally to war. Hitler could not stay at home. It seems incredible that only a few months ago the man in whom liberal England had trusted most for his judgment on foreign policy said that "what matters in foreign affairs is not the form of internal government of any nation," and that "the trouble with Hitler was not that he was a Nazi at home, but that he would not stay at home." But it must be admitted that Anthony Eden merely repeated in a crude form the third point of the Atlantic Charter, which respects the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live, insinuating the possibility that fascist regimes may be tolerated after this war. Even the twenty-year Anglo-Soviet treaty just signed, while it states firmly that the contracting parties "will after termination of hostilities take all measures in their power to render impossible the repetition of aggression by Germany or any of the states associated with her . . . ," reiterates the principle of "non-interference" in the internal affairs of other states.

It is as if the experience at Geneva during these past years had carried no lesson. There the balance of power had been established all right, but against the Covenant. For whenever any wholesome antidote was put forward

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by the Soviet or the Spanish delegation or by the smaller neutrals, one heard the voice of the Secretary General of the League, supported by his British and French protectors, recommending moderation, on the theory that any protest might be resented in Berlin or Rome. Not only were the fascist nations tolerated at Geneva instead of being denounced and treated as aggressors, but it was they who indirectly commanded, who were the real masters of the situation. In the balance of power previous to 1939, there was one reality, fascism, and one shadow, democracy.

III

Is it true that the chance to win a true people's peace is greater this time than in the past? That is the question which, together with the will to defeat Hitler, has absorbed the attention of every genuine liberal since the beginning of the war. To defeat Hitler—first. To see to it that the peace shall not be made by another "Big Four" for the ultimate benefit of the present social order—second.

Until now the evident contradiction between authorized statements about the kind of peace for which the United Nations are fighting and the facts of everyday diplomacy has caused considerable confusion. Even in waging the war the diplomacy of the principal democracies continues to play the same game as before 1939. But the worst of it is that the flirtations of yesterday with Mussolini—that is to say, during the entire spring of 1940—and later with Pétain, and all the time with Franco, were not mere tactical moves based on the balance of power. This policy was aimed not merely at using the puppet dictators in order to win time for the democracies. The Pétains and the Francos were not merely tolerated. They were, and they yet are, considered by the ruling diplomacy a useful element of counterpoise in a Europe which tomorrow might swing too far to the left. That is why the diplomacy which today still directs foreign policy on the side of the Allies, when it has a choice, prefers an Otto of Hapsburg to an Austrian Socialist, an Eckhardt to a Hungarian democrat. From the point of view of the old diplomacy this is all very well. But the old diplomacy cannot be married to the idea of the democratic conduct of the war, or to the spirit which we hoped presided at the signing of the twenty-year pact between Britain and the Soviet Union.

Not everything looks altogether encouraging even today in the ensemble of the United Nations. The governments-in-exile still harbor not only men known throughout their lives as *capitulards* in the domain of foreign policy but men of the purest reactionary extraction. One cannot but maintain a certain reserve when considering the question what kind of peace would emerge if the present governments of the United Nations could vote secretly on the transcendental question of the organization of the world of tomorrow.

The same need to concentrate all effort on defeating the Axis and on extending as far as possible the Allied political and diplomatic front has led to the avoidance of any discussion of problems which might create controversies between governments of different political and social structure. And this is still more true on the internal front in every country. While discussion limits itself to questions of political democracy, everything goes relatively well. But issues of economic democracy, in the opinion of officials responsible for national unity, are dangerously "controversial." This was clearly stated by Mr. Churchill himself in one of his speeches (March 28, 1941): "The moment you leave the area of pure platitude you will descend into the area of heated controversy, and that would militate against the efforts which we are making." Thus, through fear of disturbing the "defensive unity" so necessary to carry on the fight, the opportunity is lost to build up a "positive unity" for the construction of a genuine democratic order after the war. Almost everywhere, at least in Europe, it is the reaction which has chiefly profited by the *Union Sacrée,* exploiting the truce to strengthen its own position for the future.

Some people honestly believe that at the end of the war the old social hierarchies will have been so heavily hit by taxation and the extension of state control over production that hardly anyone will be found interested in opposing a genuine economic democracy. They are living in the moon. It is possible that individually many persons, wealthy before the war, will have joined the proletariat. But as a class the elements of reaction will still be strong enough when the war ends to endanger any real attempt at a people's peace unless the democratic forces combine for action.

And if the old diplomacy still intrenched in the different Foreign Offices is allowed to play its classic game of the balance of power, the old social order will again find a way of escaping transformation. Here a government of liberals with a couple of Labor ministers; there a government of "national unity" with the conservatives retaining the chief portfolios. Here a progressive republic; across the frontier a monarchy that retains the *bonhommie* of a certain patriarchal tutelage; farther on, beyond the next boundary line, a corporative state adapting its structure to the "new realities"—and twenty-five years later, World War number three.

IV

The picture is not all dark. The Metternichs of our time will have a devilishly difficult job to put over a peace which is a simple compromise between the old interests and the new ideas. If at the end of the first World War many people were already convinced that the capitalist system plus the international anarchy inherent in the balance of power would lead to another war, today the opinion is overwhelming that only a

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fundamental social change can save the world from plunging into an entire century of foreign and civil wars. "A profound social revolution, profounder even than the revolution attempted by the Communists in Russia" was the recommendation of H. G. Wells in an essay published some six months after the beginning of the war. Since then other men, more directly tied to official responsibility, have recognized the inevitability of a drive toward social security and economic democracy. "We must move on to a great social offensive if we are to win the war completely," declared Ambassador Winant in Durham only a few days after the historic speech of Vice-President Wallace. The idea is gaining headway that only a socialist Europe can secure the peace.

At the same time, we have the determination of the people not to allow themselves to be deceived this time. One has only to look at England. The man in the street in England has undergone an astonishing change of attitude in the last two years. To begin with, he mistrusts the most eloquent speeches and all the points put on paper—whether they are fourteen or eight. On the occasion of the last broadcast of Sir Stafford Cripps the London *Tribune* said (May 8, 1942): "What matters now above all is that Cripps and the government and the Labor Party should understand that a Great Reform bill in 1942 is worth more than a promised revolution in 1952. Revolutions will happen anyhow. They don't have to be promised." And that in the *Tribune,* which is considered Cripps's organ!

It is nothing to feel particularly happy about. If in one sense it is a sign of popular strength, in another it reveals a loss of faith in all promises, even the most sincere, and opens the way to a skepticism that can be exploited by many kinds of demoralizing propaganda. But that is the situation to which ten years of constant betrayal of democracy have led. Probably the *Tribune* would not speak in that way if the government of Cripps were not also the government of Sir John Simon. And if this happens in England, where after all political life proceeds normally, and parties and leaders and the press are permitted to mold public opinion, one can imagine the feeling of the ordinary man in the occupied countries. Let them try the Atlantic Charter on one of these young Frenchmen who from his bicycle risks his life to shoot a Nazi! His response will depend on who talks to him about it—a repentent *capitulard* or a man the people have learned to trust.

However one looks at the problem there is only one way out—the total mobilization of the democratic forces in the fight for a peace that corresponds to the sacrifices the people are making, a fight to prevent the diplomats, or another "Big Four," from determining, as at Vienna and Versailles, the life or death of a new generation.

But to suggest the mobilization of the democratic forces for a people's peace will again be only words if it is not translated into terms of political action. To begin with, parties and organizations capable of exerting strong popular pressure have not emerged from the crisis into which the war plunged the left movement everywhere. The shrewdest observers agree that never have political parties been held in lower esteem in England since the reign of George III. That applies especially to the conservatives, who suffer more directly from the bankruptcy of the Chamberlain policy. But the mere fact that Attlee and his colleagues in the government win a vote in a party conference does not prove that Labor is behind them. It is one of the weaknesses of the left that the reaction will try to exploit when the war ends. In an impressive article published in the *New Statesman and Nation* last February by a Labor candidate, with the significant title The Silent Revolution, these words appear: "The greatest danger of all is that the fighting services, at the end of a war which is likely to grow more and more destructive, will become so violently anti-politician that they will hand over power to any individual who has managed to gain their confidence."

The great international movements suffer from the same crisis. From the Second International nothing remains but the memory of its hesitations and its failures. Other organizations, like the former Fédération Syndicale Internationale and the cooperatives, are in the hands of routine-minded officials who have not yet freed themselves from the psychology of refugees, and who think only about flattering the governments of the countries where they have established bureaus and delegations. As for the Third International, not the boldest Communists would believe that by themselves they can produce a movement strong enough to prevent a bad peace.

It is of the most extreme urgency to revitalize all those groups. But even the largest and best articulated movement in favor of a people's peace would fail if it did not have a correct, clear policy to follow. Any political strategy worthy of the name is conditioned by the nature of the world that surrounds us. The battle is still in terms of the balance of power, and the first aim of the liberals must be to tilt in their favor the present balance in the *cadres* of the United Nations: to strengthen every genuine tendency in support of a real democratic victory; to back every man whose democratic record guarantees a firm stand in the next peace conference. Whoever supports Benes, for instance, works for a people's peace. Whoever, inside the Free French movement, supports the effort to surround De Gaulle with men who represent the real people of France, instead of dubious adherents of the Croix de Feu, works for a people's peace. Whoever in Allied governments and the free movements gives maximum support to the new Russian-British alliance, works for a people's peace. Whoever tries to force out of the Allied Foreign Offices the remaining appeasers and reactionaries works for a people's peace.

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In a word, the problem is (1) to create a strong democratic world movement and (2) to place proved anti-fascist and progressive leaders in key posts in the governments of the United Nations. The value of any international agreement depends on the men who will carry it through. The Soviet-French pact concluded in 1935 was a quite different instrument for peace in the hands of Louis Barthou than in the hands of Georges Bonnet. In the end, it comes back to the men and to the forces that move them.

Keep Them Out!

III. STEPHEN A. DAY OF ILLINOIS

BY SYDNEY JUSTIN HARRIS

FOR more than twenty years Stephen A. Day was a joke in his part of Illinois and a nonentity elsewhere. He was a joke to the politicians of both parties, who ridiculed his pathetically serious attempts to gain public office year after year. He was a joke to the newspapermen, who had heard his solemn chant of devotion to the Constitution at a hundred D. A. R. meetings and Union League banquets. And until 1940 this baldish, chubby, self-righteous messiah was a joke to the electorate of Illinois, who repudiated him six times consecutively at the polls, both in his party primaries and in the November elections.

Day's election in 1940 as Congressman-at-Large on the Republican ticket has been variously interpreted by politicians and editorial writers. According to the Chicago *Tribune,* he was sent into office on an "Illinois landslide." The G. O. P.'s local leaders, who cater to the *Tribune's* whims publicly but have their own private opinions, simply shake their heads and call it a "political accident." The Democrats ascribe his long-delayed success to the growing strength of labor in America in 1940, which frightened Illinois farmers—almost 3,000,000 of them—and to the threat of war.

Whatever the reasons for Day's unexpected victory, overnight he ceased to be a joke to responsible citizens. He immediately took his place in the front line of the pro-Axis propaganda campaign, inveighing long and lustily against the Administration's foreign and domestic policies. The *Tribune* and the Hearst press began touting him as the white hope of the Middle West, and the fascist and bundist groups adopted him as one of their own. He was mentioned in the same breath with Pelley, Coughlin, and Gerald Smith. Stephen Day had arrived.

Once on the floor of the House, Day swung into action with a ferocity which belied his meek, diffident appearance. He voted against the lease-lend bill, against the first lease-lend appropriation, and against the draft extension. He opposed repeal of the bans on arming American vessels and on their entering combat zones. On the domestic front, like many a politically wise Republican, he yielded to Administration pressure and helped defeat the Smith labor-spy bill. This was his only pro-labor vote.

He became a member of the House too late to vote on such important issues as fortification of the Guam naval base, air-force appropriations, neutrality, the WPA, the NYA, and other public-works bills. His subsequent activities, however, leave no doubt as to where he would have stood on these matters. The editorial column of the Chicago *Tribune* is his master's voice, and he makes no effort to deny it.

But it is Day's extra-Congressional sorties into world affairs which brand him as a pro-Axis agitator. Try as he may to disclaim the love of the native fascists, their affection for him is inscribed in the pages of William Dudley Pelley's fascist weekly *Roll Call,* which, on August 11, 1941, had a front-page editorial titled Will Stephen A. Day Save This Republic? Pelley had this to say about his new-found hero:

> He takes his place on the patriotic honor roll along with Lindbergh, Nye, Wheeler, Thorkelson, and more. . . . Whether the revolting Seventy-seventh Congress will generate sufficient spunk and genuine patriotism to go down the line with Representative Day remains to be seen. . . . If the Congress really wants to go the whole hog on the revolt, here is its chance to prove whether it is composed of Christian patriots or Stalin-Roosevelt instruments—whether they love their country more than they love Jewish-controlled Russia, with Jewish-controlled Britain thrown in for boot!

Certainly Day has done everything to win the admiration of the Pelleys, the Coughlins, and the Smiths. He has spoken before Gerald L. K. Smith's Committee of One Million, We the Mothers, Mobilize for America, William Grace's Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, and several other pro-fascist and super-isolationist groups. The planning and timing of his radio diatribes against the Administration might have been directed from Berlin, so perfectly did they fit into the propaganda strategy of the Axis. For instance, in a radio address on August 1, 1941, when Russia was making its heroic stand against the Nazi invasion, Day assailed "lease-lend for atheism" and asked Congress to revoke

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the authorization granted the President for aid to Russia.

Day's *Kampf* against the forces of "socialism, communism, and internationalism" goes back at least to 1930 when he formed the Lincoln-Jefferson Liberty League, virtually a one-man organization with headquarters in the office of the German-American Republican Alliance in Chicago. The league's platform was a conglomerate of anti-prohibition, anti-British, and anti-socialist propaganda. Day said at the time:

> We are suffering today under the narrow-minded rule of a successfully organized minority. This powerful network, a product of the World War, is founded upon the Anti-Saloon League and the Federal Council of Churches in America, controlling the votes of millions. This autocratic combination is allied with the forces of intolerance, including the Democratic Party in the South and numerous pacifist organizations, many of which are frankly communistic in their appeal.

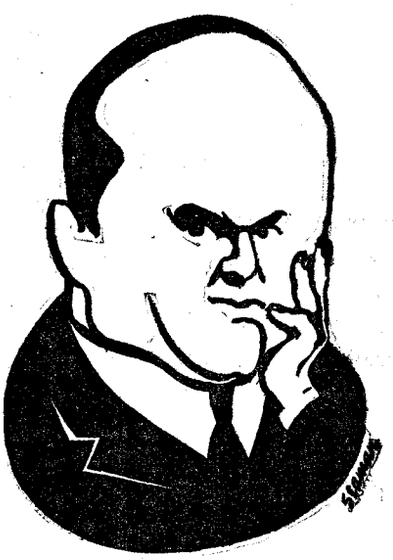
His main theme in later years, however—thousands of reprints of his remarks have been distributed by Nazi groups under Day's Congressional frank—is that Roosevelt is plotting to overthrow the Constitution and betray the United States to Great Britain, a foe whom he considers only slightly less dangerous than the Soviet Union. On June 15, 1941, in what the *Tribune* called an "arresting radio address," Day revealed that the President's plan is to merge Congress in the parliament of the "Anglo-American Union," of which "the rulers will be Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt."

A few months later, however, he was embarrassed when Washington newspaper columnists revealed that his rabidly isolationist, anti-British, and anti-New Deal book, "We Must Save the Republic," had been published by Flanders Hall, a registered Nazi publishing house controlled by the convicted Nazi agent George Sylvester Viereck. The book, which sold for $1 under the Flanders Hall imprint, was advertised and praised in a number of American fascist periodicals, which recommended it along with "other books exposing the Communist and Jewish control of England and America." In an interview he gave to newspapermen on October 9 of last year Day said: "I wrote the book myself, without aid or collaboration, as an answer to Union Now. I never got any royalties from Flanders Hall. As soon as I found out that those fellows were registered as foreign agents I bought my contract back at considerable expense."

The book is a hysterical, often incoherent formulation of the anti-British and anti-Roosevelt sentiments which Day has been spouting for the last ten or twelve years. Typical chapter titles are: Shall We Follow George Washington or Benedict Arnold?, The Invasion Myth: a Bogy for Suckers, and Independent America vs. Fifth Columnist Federationists.

At Viereck's trial it was disclosed that the Nazi agent made changes in Day's manuscript before it was published—but who can distinguish between the "American" and the Nazified portions of the book? It was also shown that Viereck received $1,000 from the Nazi-controlled Make Europe Pay Its War Debts Committee to promote the sale of Day's book. This committee, and others equally under the shadow, mailed out thousands of pieces of propaganda under the Congressional frank of Day and of his colleague, William Stratton, another *Tribune* Representative from Illinois.

Day has hotly denied being anti-Semitic and has not publicly expressed any open hostility to the Jews. However, a notarized affidavit signed by Eric von Schroetter, an anti-Nazi German and former instructor at Northwestern University, declares that Day sent a cable to Hitler on April 6, 1933, congratulating him upon his rise to the chancellorship of the Reich. According to von Schroetter, Day approached him through an official of the German-American Republican Alliance and asked him to translate the cable into German. Von Schroetter has also stated under oath that Day then delivered a "lengthy monologue against the 'world conspiracy of the Jews,' and told what should be done about it." Day said, it is alleged, that "a strong drive against the Jews, against Morgenthau and Roosevelt especially, should be made by the citizens of this country."



Stephen A. Day

Day is sixty years old, wears drab, loose-fitting clothes, boasts that he has never taken a drink although he ran as a "wet" for fifteen years, and has no perceptible social life. Almost everyone who meets him for the first time is struck by his remarkable resemblance—in appearance and manner—to Victor Moore, the stage and film comedian. He has the same awkward diffidence, the prim shyness which conceals sharpness of a sort, the naive "folksy" attitude which Moore radiates in his stage characters. Despite his outbursts of demagoguery, he is no streamlined fascist of the Smith or Coughlin variety but rather a dull, pontifical throwback to nineteenth-century conservatism. He is a menace because he can be—and has been—used by smarter and more dangerous men.

Stephen Day's father—and he is never reluctant to bring up the fact—was William R. Day, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and Secretary of State in President McKinley's Cabinet. Among his

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ancestors was General Joseph Warren, who fell at Bunker Hill. Stephen himself, just out of the University of Michigan, in 1905 became confidential secretary to Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller of the Supreme Court. Thus, by proxy, the Constitution has become Day's private property at patriotic and political functions in Illinois. He is the custodian of the sacred parchment and waves it at every opportunity. Just before the 1936 elections, when Day was strenuously campaigning to block the President's plan for reorganizing the Supreme Court, he spoke to an audience in Canton, Ohio, his birthplace, and with tears almost streaming down his cheeks, *à la* Victor Moore, he cried:

> I pledged my father that if the Supreme Court ever were in danger I would fight with all my strength to preserve its integrity. If the present Administration is reelected, the Supreme Court will be so weakened that its integrity will be lost, and then the United States will become a proletarian state with the average citizen on relief.

Most of Day's speeches are in this frenetic vein, and they have been uniformly unsuccessful in campaign-wise Chicago as well as in his home town of Evanston. But his stuff is eaten up downstate, where the name of Justice Day is proudly remembered and the Battle of Bunker Hill is still a live issue. In the recent Republican primary Day was badly beaten by his interventionist opponent in Chicago and Evanston but gained a sufficient plurality downstate to win the nomination.

Day has run for office almost every two years ever since 1920. Usually he has failed to receive indorsement or nomination in the primary; if he was nominated in the spring he was always beaten in the fall. It is said that his once thriving law practice—General Dawes was a client and personal friend of his—has gone to seed in the last ten years. He is known to have little money.

Neither a popular nor a well-known figure in his own district, Day is regarded as an outsider by the regular Republican organization, which failed to indorse him this year. In past election years he has volunteered to make speeches, and the leaders have allowed him to talk at "safe" meetings. His naivete is legendary among the politicians and newspapermen. In 1936, the story goes, he telephoned a county chieftain and told him blandly that he wanted to run for President. The G. O. P. leader patiently explained the process: "You have to start in the precincts," he said, "and then get the county and state indorsements. After that you get delegates pledged to you and try for the nomination at the National Convention." Day never mentioned the aspiration again.

Illinois is going to vote Democratic again in 1942, if the primary is any indication, and Day will probably find himself once more on the outside looking in. His opponent this fall is a young, aggressive Pole, Benjamin Adamowski, with an excellent New Deal record in the state legislature. Adamowski polled almost twice as many primary votes as Day and ran well ahead of the rest of the Democratic ticket. Moreover, he is actively supported by the largest Polish community in the nation, and he will gain many Republican votes because of his known independence of the Kelly-Nash machine. It is believed by political experts in Illinois that Adamowski will win handily, piling up enough Chicago and suburban votes to offset Day's certain downstate majority.

Price Ceilings—Quality Cellars

BY RUTH BRINDZE

PRICE ceilings alone are not enough to prevent inflation, and the Office of Price Administration knows it. As Harold Mager wrote in *The Nation* for May 30, there are two ways in which the cost of any article can be increased—by a mark-up of the price and by a debasement of quality. If the shoes for which a man normally pays $3.98 are now no better than a pair that cost $2.98 before the war, the actual cost has gone up 33⅓ per cent, even though the price tag has remained the same. This is the kind of inflation that must be expected if government control extends no farther than price.

The General Maximum Price Regulation merely provides that the price for the same or "similar" articles may not be more than that charged in March, 1942. A "similar" commodity is defined as one that "affords the purchaser fairly equivalent serviceability and belongs to a type which would ordinarily be sold in the same price line." This is one of those blanket provisions that cover practically nothing.

What is the meaning of the words "fairly equivalent serviceability," and who will decide on it—the government, the manufacturer, the retailer, or the customer? A professional buyer whose judgment is supplemented by laboratory testing may be able to determine the comparative serviceability of a woman's blouse, a child's snowsuit, or a man's overalls. The average over-the-counter buyer will not be able to judge. He will be further handicapped because war shortages will necessitate many changes in articles made for civilians. The leather used for men's work shoes will be different be-

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cause heavy leather is needed in the manufacture of shoes for the armed forces. War-time furniture will be different because jute, burlap, kapok, and many other products normally used in its manufacture are no longer available. Bicycle tires, another of the articles classed as "cost-of-living commodities," will undoubtedly be different—if they are manufactured at all—because reclaimed instead of new rubber must be used. In addition to all such necessary changes, some manufacturers will make others because cheating promises bigger profits.

How can control be exercised? Bernard Baruch has suggested one way; the OPA is already experimenting with another. Several months before the general price-regulation order was issued, the OPA went into action to check the runaway prices of sheets and pillow cases. Not only were maximum prices set, but these were tied directly to quality standards. Instead of merely saying that sheets could not be sold for more than a fixed maximum, the OPA established specifications for four types of sheeting and then named price ceilings for each. Labeling requirements were set up so that the various grades might be readily identified—by the trade. Of course the labeling should be carried through to the consumer, but we are only one step away from that now. The OPA's order did not limit the kinds of sheeting that may be manufactured. Other varieties, including high-count percales, may still be made, but they do not come under the labeling regulations. All sheetings manufactured according to government specifications must be labeled, and "seconds" must be marked as such.

Writing specifications for the multitude of articles used in the average household, including clothing and food, is a task of heroic proportions. The system used in Great Britain, with which Bernard Baruch's suggestion is directly in line, is simpler but more drastic than price and quality regulations. Mr. Baruch has pointed out that the way to prevent waste, as well as to control production for civilian use, is by standardization. Shoes, for example, he would order made in a limited number of grades and styles. Novelty footgear, especially that made for women, would be out. True the toeless, heelless trivialities don't take much leather, but they do require labor and machines for their construction and transportation facilities for their delivery. Whether such frivolities are desirable for a nation at war is a debatable question. In England, where clothing is rationed, "utility" cloth, manufactured to government specifications, is being used for many articles of wearing apparel. Styles have been restricted; only "utility types" of corsets and stockings may be made.

Foodstuffs are even more rigidly controlled. In order to prevent waste in production and distribution, and to control price, many of the basic foods have been "nationalized." Margarine, for example, is manufactured by only one company, which is directly controlled by the Ministry of Food. Two standard grades are made. Bread and butter have likewise been standardized, and instead of individual brands, consumers buy "national" bread and "national" butter. The effect of this standardization —or socialization—on Britain's post-war economy is an interesting field for speculation, but not one that appeals to American business men, who have spent a fortune advertising brand names. From their point of view, any regulation, however stringent, which permits the continued use of the company's name is preferable. We are not yet ready for "nationalization," but we are ready for restrictions. We can effect a major economic change by regulation without facing the hurdles that a direct take-over would involve. This is the direction in which we are heading.

Our War Production Board is not only deciding what consumer goods may be made but how they may be made. Government orders have fixed the length of hairpins and the number that may be included in a package; also the length of shirt tails, the amount of rubber in corsets, the number of tacks hammered into a pair of shoes, the yardage to be used for men's and women's clothing, the thickness of the glass in food containers and their size. The OPA has already learned that the effectiveness of price ceilings depends on the control of production. In August, 1941, it fixed maximum prices for 52 types of rayon fabrics; in April, 1942, it specified 177 additional types; so that the regulations now affect 90 per cent of all rayon goods. Before the order was extended, manufacturers were switching production to types that brought a higher return, and as a result there was a shortage of goods used in women's low-priced dresses. With the order now in force, labels might be developed which would inform the public on quality and durability. And if subsequent events should make it necessary, the OPA could amend its order and completely control the types of fabric woven.

Control is not always so easy. In an explanatory statement on the price schedule for leather, the OPA has pointed out some of the difficulties:

> The length of time taken for the tanning process, the method used, and the amount of load or excess weighting to which the leather is subjected during the tanning process are all factors which substantially affect the quality and value of the resultant leather. Two bends of substantially the same crop, the same area on a footage basis, and the same thickness may easily result in leather which will vary, as between tanners, by as much as 20 per cent in actual weight because of the loading.

But such obstacles can be overcome. The army, the navy, and other government services have long bought shoes and other leather goods to specification. The OPA would not have to start from scratch in developing standards for civilians' shoes.

The groundwork has also been laid for many other

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manufactured and natural products. The specifications for sheets developed by the United States Bureau of Home Economics over many years and the findings of the National Bureau of Standards were available to the OPA when it set up its quality and labeling regulations. Specifications have likewise been established by the government for a wide variety of other items ranging from blankets to house paint. In peace time the government is the biggest buyer of consumer goods; and quality standards for various civilian articles might be based on federal specifications.

It will be necessary, however, to develop many new standards for war-time substitutes. The Consumer Division of the OPA has already attacked the problem. We may get longer wear from war-time rubber heels because Washington postmen and policemen were enlisted by the division to give them a practical test. Durability will now be one of the factors determining the formula to be used in preparing the reclaimed rubber heels.

The problem of grading foodstuffs is comparatively simple. During the First World War the food trade began to use grades as the basis for wholesale buying, and by the time the Second World War started, government grading had been adopted for most fresh and canned fruits and vegetables, as well as for meat and poultry. But while we lived in peace, the meat packers and the food processors bitterly fought attempts to make quality grading and stamping mandatory and thereby to give consumers a rule for determining value. The weakness of the food industries' position was obvious, for while they were arguing that canned fruits and vegetables could not be sold to consumers by grade, they were themselves buying and selling by grade at wholesale. The OPA has the power to end the long argument and to require that food in the "cost-of-living" group be grade-labeled.

Existing government requirements can be used as a basis for quality standards for many of the foods over which the OPA now exercises control, and the Department of Agriculture has a corps of trained graders who might be called into service. Intelligent use of the quality standards can be expected from the public, for a large number of consumers have already been educated in the advantages of grade buying by the efforts of schools, colleges, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters, and federal, state, and city consumer agencies.

The enforcement of price control depends on quality standards. It requires a vigorous and adequate policing force and a punitive system with real guts. If industry refuses to submit, or alleges that cooperation is not possible, then complete control of manufacturing and processing may be necessary. Control by regulation, however, has more to recommend it. And the present is the time to take the offensive.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Will Planes Oust Trains?

THE railroads are breaking all records for freight handling, and under the spur of necessity and the firm direction of Joseph Eastman, Defense Transport Commissioner, they are operating with a hitherto unknown efficiency. Last year freight movements were 25 billion ton-miles greater than in 1929, although 600,000 fewer freight cars were available, and this year the 1941 figure will be vastly exceeded.

The tremendous volume of goods which the rails are being called upon to move is of course a direct reflection of a total national output soaring month by month to new heights. But in addition to what may be considered their full share of a super-normal transport load, the railroads are taking traffic from every competing form of transport. Oil and coal, which previously moved mostly by sea to the Northeastern states, are now being carried by rail; so is much of the freight which used to pass through the Panama Canal. The same sort of thing is happening in the passenger departments. With large numbers of airliners requisitioned for war purposes, travelers are flocking back to the Pullmans, and motorists are turning to the railroads wherever possible.

As a consequence of near-capacity use of all their facilities, the railroads' revenues are soaring to new heights, and despite increases in labor and other costs and mounting taxes, many companies are making very handsome profits. Stock-market quotations for railroad securities, however, suggest that investors remain singularly unimpressed by all this evidence of prosperity. It has not proved a cure for the disease of post-war defeatism, epidemic in the American stockholding class, which is convinced that ruin is right around the corner.

There are reasons for supposing, however, that holders of railroad securities may have more cause for anxiety about the future than investors in other fields. Recently their flesh has been made to creep by air-minded prophets who assert that earthbound means of transport will soon be a thing of the past. In a speech on May 2, Grover Loening, consulting engineer of the Grumann Aircraft Corporation, declared that cargo planes would very soon take over all carrying operations by land and sea. Referring to the projected Glenn Martin flying ships, which will carry a useful load of eighty tons, he declared that owing to the tremendous saving in time, 8,300 such machines could displace the entire merchant marine of the world. As for the 1,900,000 freight cars in the United States, their work could be done by 45,000 aircraft of a type now being flown day after day. "It is clear," Mr. Loening said, "that to keep the 300,000

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pilots that we are going to have at the end of this war at work, and the millions of mechanics also, and in order to use some of the thousands of highly usable aircraft that we are going to inherit from this war, as well as to keep our factories going in some way—air will have to invade the heavy freight field of the railroads and the heavy cargo field of the international shipping companies right away."

Similar ideas were propounded a few days later by Glenn L. Martin, who told a New York audience that the Mars, the latest flying boat produced by his company, had a hull with a cubic space equal to that of the average fifteen-room house. It could, he said, carry 102 passengers with 80 pounds of luggage apiece, 25,000 pounds of mail, and a crew of 12, and cover the distance between New York and London in 13 hours. And this boat by no means represents the possible limit in size.

Both railroad and shipping men have scoffed at these prophecies, pointing out that while airplanes may score as regards speed they are still handicapped by the cost factor. Air freight rates between New York and Buenos Aires are roughly five times those charged by the steamship companies, which refuse to recognize a menace from the air until the cost differential is brought down to a mere 100 per cent. Railroaders, while recognizing that the airplane will compete for an increasing amount of passenger and express traffic, believe it will be a long time before they are challenged in the field of bulk freight. Planes, they say, will continue to be handicapped by the force of gravity, which compels them to develop a great deal more horse-power per ton-mile than a locomotive.

Probably the truth lies somewhere between the airmen and the earthmen. Commercial aviation is bound to take a tremendous leap forward when lessons learned under the forced draft of war are applied to the uses of peace. But it took a long time for the steamship to displace the sailing vessel, and even today the lumbering barge still competes with the railroad for certain forms of freight. Aircraft costs will certainly fall after the war. The secrets of mass-production of planes now being mastered are likely to reduce initial capital outlay per unit tremendously. Severe competition between manufacturers is probable, with four or five well-established firms competing with Douglas Aircraft, which formerly enjoyed a near-monopoly in the commercial-plane field. Nor are the automobile manufacturers, now that they have rather belatedly turned to plane production, apt to relinquish their stake in this "growth" industry. It is unlikely that Henry Ford has built Willow Run just to make bombers.

While the air enthusiasts, therefore, may be allowing their imagination to soar rather higher than the facts warrant, it is not hard to foresee increasing competition between the plane and older forms of transport. Moreover, with its great margin of speed, the plane is likely to skim the cream off the business at a fairly early stage. This is what is going to hurt the railroads and hurt them so much that I fully expect in a few years' time to see a movement, supported by the banks and blessed by the *Wall Street Journal,* to persuade the government to nationalize the railroads. Capitalists begin to see virtue in socialism when they find themselves stuck with an enterprise whose future is blighted.

In the Wind

WASHINGTON REACTIONARIES are proposing James A. Farley as a successor to Leon Henderson as Price Administrator. . . . Governor Darden of Virginia, whose record on the Waller case has been so liberal, may enter the War Cabinet.

HAROLD E. COLE of Boston, who is running for Congress against Joe Martin, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has been hindered from campaigning in Fall River. He was ordered to leave the city on Memorial Day because his car carried an electioneering sign and an obscure city ordinance forbids the parking of vehicles which display advertising.

A WISCONSIN LOCAL of the International Typographical Union has expelled a member because he registered in the draft as a conscientious objector. The expulsion order will be fought as a civil-rights case before the unions' highest councils.

THE NEWEST DODGE of the anti-liquor forces to bring back prohibition in practice if not in theory is a bill to close all saloons within two blocks of war activity. A strict construction of "war activity" would, of course, prohibit the sale of alcohol everywhere but in a few rural districts.

ROGER S. BALDWIN, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, has resigned from the International Labor Defense, a Communist-controlled agency, because the I. L. D. is supporting the government in its case against the Minneapolis Trotskyites.

JUDGE CHARLES B. SEARS, on whose investigation of the Bridges case the Attorney General based his deportation order, was an ardent supporter of General Franco during the Spanish civil war.

TWO NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS, the *Times* and the *Post,* refused to accept advertisements of Leigh White's article on George II of Greece which appeared in *The Nation* last week. The article accused the King of having been a dictatorial and pro-Nazi ruler, and the copy was headed "George II, Fascist King of Greece."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Her Name Is Legion

THE COMPANY SHE KEEPS. By Mary McCarthy. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

THE publishers' somewhat pretentious synopsis and Miss McCarthy's amusing foreword unintentionally do their best to mislead us as to the character of this novel. So let us begin with a synopsis of our own.

"The Company She Keeps" is divided into six episodes. The first, Cruel and Barbarous Treatment, describes, with the disgusted objectivity of a dyspeptic anthropologist, the various stages of an adultery which lead to divorce and the decision not to marry the other man. Neither the girl, the husband, nor the lover is given a name; passion is purely algebraical; the authoress unfolds her theme with the gusto of a scientist developing a favorite thesis. The result is brilliant and highly convincing, but it is the weakest thing in the book.

In Rogue's Gallery we meet Mr. Sheer, a dealer in doubtful antiques, who gives the girl her first job. (This episode is, of course, a flashback to Margaret's earlier pre-marital life.) Mr. Sheer, with his debts and deceits and baroque imagination, is quite somebody. We see far too little of him. Miss McCarthy could easily have expanded this portrait into a short novel. That she has not done so shows either the folly of a literary spendthrift or the liberality of vast inventive wealth. Here is a figure who might have stood beside the Great Gatsby.

And now we are on a westbound train. Margaret is traveling to visit an aunt in Portland—to tell her that she is going to marry again. Once more, however, she changes her mind: this time because of her encounter with The Man in the Brooks Brothers Shirt. Here is a little masterpiece, carried through in perfect detail from the come-on to the brush-off—the classic study of the Business Man conquering the Tired Bohemian Girl. Even those who have never been seduced in a railway compartment will recognize here the accents of utter and awful truth.

The Genial Host is another portrait, crueller but equally well balanced, of one of those arachnidan entertainers who weave spider's webs around their guests and exact from each a character performance in exchange for a good dinner. Margaret, growing weary of this technique, tries to walk out of her role, but is promptly lassoed and yanked back into position by a silky thread.

Portrait of the Intellectual as a Yale Man is good, too. Its central figure is Jim Barnett, the clean-limbed Bright Young Pinkist whom everybody likes; in the end, of course, he sells out to weekly pluto-imperio-reportage-journalism—accepts, in other words, the Facts of *Life*. Margaret appears here at second remove. She is seen through his eyes. She is his bad conscience: sexually, because Jim has an affair with her while his wife is in childbed; politically, because in the obstinate integrity of her Trotskyism she seems to him to symbolize loyalty, idealism, honorable poverty, and freedom.

But Margaret, when we see her last, in the consulting-room of a psychoanalyst, is neither loyal, idealistic, nor free. Remarried at last to a successful architect, she is no longer even poor. Ghostly Father, I Confess is the annotated report of a typical hour spent with Dr. James—the annotations being Margaret's childhood memories. "Here," says Simon and Schuster's back flap, "for the first time, we see the girl plain and whole. . . . Psychologically she has come to a dead end and can only act and reenact the childhood drama of estrangement that has left her permanently in doubt as to her moral identity, turned her into a human chameleon who can only know herself vicariously, through those whose company she keeps."

This kind of talk seems to me, as I have said above, misleading and anyhow superficial. There is nothing special, or inviting to pity and terror, about Margaret's case; we are all "human chameleons," every one of us. The stupid are not aware of this fact, the wise accept it, and the rest make a terrible fuss. The search for what Miss McCarthy calls "the ordinary indispensable self" is as futile as the "search" for one's own reflection in a mirror: the object sought is infinitely protean, and it can never be grasped or possessed. since it moves on another plane of being. Between the eternity of the animal, which is reproduction, and the eternity of the spirit, which is awareness of its life in ultimate reality, there is nothing firm, nothing solid, nothing "indispensable." The personality, which we value so much, is only a swirling nebula, a looking-glass at a fair—or, as the Hindus put it, the skins of the onion, which, when they are peeled off, leave nothing at all. "But," the reader will object, "surely you'll admit that the 'ordinary indispensable self,' however illusory it may be in our human life, is very real in fiction. Surely this is the paradox of the novelist's art: in his work he must square the convention of 'the personality' with his empirical knowledge that the personality does not, in any final sense, 'exist'."

Needless to say, I agree. And I am bound to add that if this was really Miss McCarthy's original artistic intention and not a regrettable highbrow afterthought, I think she has made a very bad job of it. Margaret does *not* appear as a series of striking contrasts and apparent contradictions; in fact, this idea seems hardly to have been exploited at all. Actually, she is a somewhat colorless though sympathetic and attractive minor figure who serves as a stooge for feats of really dazzling social analysis or as second fiddle to the principal characters.

But why carp? Why be ungrateful? Never mind if the book is wrongly presented; never mind the slightly dated, almost twentyish intellectualism. Miss McCarthy has given us Mr. Sheer and Mr. Breen and Pflaumen and Jim Barnett and Dr. James. She is a real novelist, a vivid original talent whose warmth and charity and insight need no pompous introductions. We should rejoice in her, and wait eagerly for more.

CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD

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The Ramparts We Lost

RAMPARTS OF THE PACIFIC. By Hallett Abend. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

HALLETT ABEND, former Far Eastern correspondent of the New York *Times*, made a whirlwind, two-month clipper survey of Oahu, New Zealand, Australia, the Dutch East Indies, and the Philippines to write a last-minute report on the strength of the democracies shortly before the attack on Pearl Harbor. Before he could finish his book, however, the screaming headlines of our newspapers were providing the frightening answer to questions about the strength of Singapore, the Philippines, and the Dutch East Indies. His discussion of these bases as ramparts of the democracies comes, therefore, as an anti-climax to one of the great tragic stories of our day.

Since the author visited these bases at a time when they were rapidly being strengthened in preparation for possible Japanese attacks, it is natural that he should have been impressed by the striking improvement in the military, naval, and air position of their owners in the western Pacific. Consequently he is somewhat at a loss to explain the reasons for the shocking defeats suffered by the United Nations. If his figures on the military and air strength at Singapore, the Philippines, and the Dutch East Indies are correct, the cause of the disasters is more inexplicable than ever, for they indicate that the United Nations were not so greatly outnumbered by the Japanese as is generally believed.

Mr. Abend thinks that there was a "minimum" of 180,000 soldiers in the Philippines and about 200,000 British, Australian, New Zealand, and Indian troops in Malaya. These troops, he writes, were overwhelmed by a Japanese force in both areas "not to exceed 400,000 men." In the East Indies Mr. Abend believes the Dutch had almost 200,000 men under arms, giving the United Nations a total of 580,000 men in the three strategic areas which the Japanese apparently succeeded in capturing with a total force not much greater.

For an explanation of the disconcerting puzzle presented by these figures the author points to the fact that the United Nations lacked control of the air. But his estimates of United Nations air strength make it difficult to understand why we were so completely overwhelmed in that field. Mr. Abend asserts that the Dutch had about 2,400 planes of all classes and sizes in the Netherlands Indies and that the British had at least 800 planes in Singapore and Malaya. He offers no figures for the Philippines but says planes were being sent across the Pacific in "astonishing numbers" after midsummer of 1941. It is incredible that there were in the Philippines less than 300 planes, which would mean that the United Nations had a total air force of at least 3,500 planes at the three ramparts which have now fallen.

If these figures are anywhere near correct, then the Japanese could not have had much superiority in the air in the southwestern Pacific, as their total air force is estimated at less than 7,000 planes, about half of which must have been reserved for Japan proper, China, and the Soviet-Manchurian frontier. Mr. Abend's figures suggest that it was not entirely a question of "too little and too late," that the lack of coordination at each base and between all the forces of the United Nations had not a little to do with our defeats.

It can be assumed that General MacArthur is now perfecting coordination of our forces at Australia, which is being converted into a base for the eventual counter-offensive against the Japanese. Mr. Abend's chapters on New Zealand and Australia, therefore, provide valuable and timely reading. He presents a large amount of fresh material, and his description of the heroic efforts being made by the Australians and New Zealanders provides a measure of compensation for an otherwise bleak picture.

The large number of fliers being turned out by our allies in the Antipodes is particularly impressive. New Zealand is expected to train about 5,000 fliers annually, and of the 210,000 Australians who applied for enlistment in the air force, Mr. Abend says more than 70,000 have been accepted. Given such an air force and the continued indomitable resistance of the Chinese—who have already suffered 9,000,000 casualties in their struggle against the Japanese—the outlook for the United Nations is not at all dark.

JOSEPH NEWMAN

Russia's Strength

RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC FRONT FOR WAR AND PEACE: AN APPRAISAL OF THE THREE FIVE-YEAR PLANS. By A. Yugow. Harper and Brothers. $3.

MR. YUGOW'S book is important not so much because of its intrinsic merit as because it fills a conspicuous void in our information about Russia. The reviewer knows of no other place where the average person may so quickly and conveniently obtain the basic facts regarding Soviet economic development, together with information that will enable him to appraise these facts intelligently. It is distinctly not pro-Soviet in its interpretations; nevertheless, the general picture is one of amazing progress despite blundering and in the face of a heavy cost to the Russian people. Progress appears to have been particularly rapid in the months between 1938 and June, 1941—a period of almost complete blackout so far as information about Soviet Russia was concerned.

A few statistics will help us to see how phenomenal Russia's industrial advance has been since the Revolution. As compared with 1913, Russia's output of iron ore has increased threefold; of pig iron, fourfold; of steel, fivefold; and of machine-building, thirty-two-fold. Many new industries, such as the manufacture of tractors, automobiles, precision machine tools, motors, and electrical machinery, have been started and carried to a high level of development in the past fifteen or twenty years. Most of these gains have been made since 1928, when the First Five-Year Plan was inaugurated. Industrial production as a whole in 1940 was seven and one-half times as large as in 1928; the output of producers' goods—the key to Russia's strength in peace or war—increased no less than fourteen-fold during this twelve-year period and was still expanding rapidly prior to the invasion in 1941. Much less emphasis was placed, of course, on consumers' goods. Nevertheless, the output in this category increased nearly four and a half times between 1928 and 1940 and five times between 1913 and 1940. No

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other country has shown a rate of industrial growth that is at all comparable to that of the Soviet Union during this period.

There is, of course, a negative side to the picture. Soviet tanks, airplanes, and other war materials are of relatively high quality, but largely as a result of the speeding up of production, the quality of non-military goods has been consistently poor and costs of production have been high. Carelessness had led to much waste and many accidents.

The progress made in agriculture in the same period has been in a way fully as remarkable as that in industry, for the possibilities of growth in this sphere are obviously more restricted. The grain yield in 1939, 1940, and 1941 was about double the pre-war average, and the cotton crop was about three and a half times that of 1913. The consistently high yields of recent years contrast with the wide swings between good and bad harvests in the past, and are perhaps the most encouraging feature of Soviet agricultural development.

The standard of living of the Soviet population, Yugow believes, has increased appreciably in the past few years, particularly in agricultural regions. But he maintains that the average Russian worker, though his position has improved, has still a lower standard of life than French, German, or even Bulgarian workers. The condition of the peasants on the collective farms, however, has notably advanced. Reliable figures are cited indicating that in the Middle Volga region and the Kuban, as well as in the Ukraine, the peasants consume one and a half times as much bread, one and a half times as much milk, and eight times as much meat and lard as they did before the First World War. Even greater advances are shown in the consumption of clothing, shoes, furniture, and other goods. While the industrial figures may explain Russia's unexpected strength in planes, tanks, and the weapons of war, the undeniable improvement in living standards, especially in the country, explains the utter collapse of Hitler's hope that the Russian people would rise against the Soviet regime and pave the way for the Nazi invaders.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Inside Italy

AGENT IN ITALY. By S. K. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

THE author of this book lived in Rome from the summer of 1939 to the summer of 1941. When he speaks of things outside the city of Rome or of facts of an earlier date, he piles error upon error, as does any foreigner who deals with Italian affairs on the basis of his immediate observations alone, without knowing present-day Italy widely or the Italy of yesterday at all. But S. K.'s errors should not obscure the fact that during the years of his residence in Rome he gathered with diligence and intelligence a great deal of first-hand and reliable information on rising prices, on the deterioration of the standard of living, and on the infiltration of German agents into all branches of the Italian economic, military, and administrative structure.

The author does not believe in the possibility of a separate peace between Italy and the Allied Nations:

> It is a mistake if anti-Axis forces today suppose that Italy will drop out of the war by itself. Such an event can be brought about by only two means. . . . One is invasion by the United Nations, which would be warmly welcomed and abetted by the mass of the people. The other is for Germany to be militarily defeated and Nazism destroyed. . . . There will be no revolution in Italy until peace—as defined above—comes again to Europe.

When the Fascist structure falls, he says, the monarchy will not outlive it.

Whoever knows the state of mind of the great majority of the Italian people must agree that on these points the conclusions of the author correspond to reality. The British Foreign Office and the American State Department would do well to discard their dreams of concluding a separate peace with the King or the Italian army chiefs after the latter decide to throw Mussolini into the sea. Mussolini, the King, and the army chiefs will sink or swim together. At the most, when Hitler has lost the war for good, some army chiefs and the King will endeavor to save their skins by staging a faked "revolution" against the Duce, to the satisfaction of the gullible "anti-Bolshevist" hearts of the British and American tories.

Though he lived in Rome for two years, the author of this book never speaks of the Pope. This fact will seem strange to those who fancy that no one moves a finger in Italy without the permission of the Pope. Yet this absolute ignorance of the Pope is the surest evidence that the author really lived in Rome for two years. If he had not, he would certainly have told us that the Pope is the greatest authority in the life of Rome and of Italy. The fact is that the authority of the Pope is extensive in London (England), Quebec (Canada), and Washington (U. S. A.), but not in Italy. To an inhabitant of Rome the price of tomatoes and charcoal is much more important than the latest address of Pope Pius XII.

Unfortunately the author has discredited himself by making out that in Italy he took part in an underground revolutionary movement. Underground movements do exist in Italy, but the internal evidence of S. K.'s account makes it obvious that he had no connection with them.

GAETANO SALVEMINI

Out of the Many, One

$1,000 A WEEK, AND OTHER STORIES. By James T. Farrell. The Vanguard Press. $2.50.

THE items of this volume work by a wide variety of methods. In the simplest distinction, there is the fact that one "story," G. B. S. Interviews the Pope, has the form of a dramatic dialogue between the irresistible force and the immovable object named; another consists of nothing more than the near side of a telephone conversation. Somewhat less obviously, there are differences of style to be seen, for example, in the contrast of such stories as $1,000 a Week, The Sport of Kings, and Whoopee for the New Deal! with such as Sorel, After the Sun Has Risen, The Bride of Christ, and Counting the Waves. The former group, which forms the majority, has the relaxed American colloquialism of the author's novel-writing, whereas the latter uses a manner much

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like the average style of the French or Russian realists, who appear to make a studied blend of the colloquial with the formal and "literary." It is interesting to observe, incidentally, that Mr. Farrell's exotic manner occurs in concomitance with a subject matter which, beside his regular Chicago-Irish-American milieu, is also exotic: Jacques Sorel, the French royalist Vichyman; the expatriate bohemian paralytic of After the Sun Has Risen; the dead nun of The Bride of Christ; the scenery and minor persons, if not the protagonist, of Counting the Waves.

But the shifting feature of these stories that is most difficult to trace and define is their meaning. I would decline to enter the lists on behalf of a True Technique of the Short Story, and I shall not be trying to join the dance by a back door if I say that the stories of Mr. Farrell whose effects I value most highly are those founded upon a perspicuous meaning. And what do I mean by "meaning"? It is not easy to give the term an exact definition because the phenomena to which I am applying it are not easily classified. I will propose, tentatively, that a meaningful story is one which conveys an empirically true statement of the common ground of human experiences that are unlike in detail while it actually presents only a single set of particulars and the experience of individuals. This will sound like a paradox, and as I have put it, it is, for the statement of a particular cannot at the same time be the statement of a generalization. There must really be something more than a mere account of particulars in what I am calling a meaningful story. The device by which a story can achieve the double focus of the specific and the general is usually the symbol; how we are persuaded to recognize the symbol as such is a problem that requires for its solution a delicate study of the manipulation of "minimal clues" against the anticipated foreknowledge of the audience.

In this sense of the label, at least one of Mr. Farrell's stories—Accident—has, as I read it, no meaning whatever; it stands solely on the feet of its action and circumstantial detail, more or less like its legion of innocent brothers the world around. Other stories, such as the title piece, $1,000 a Week, seem to involve their literality with some meaning, but one that is relatively limited, superficial, and ready-to hand—not very perspicuous, in short. Of the small selection which passes beyond this stage, the leader is probably Whoopee for the New Deal. John and Kate Robinson and Henry and Myrtle Lohrman are seen during the course of a recreational evening in the period just after Mr. Roosevelt's first election and the announcement of the NRA. The story is in Mr. Farrell's painstakingly concrete mode; the details of person, speech, behavior, and scene are full and precise. The two couples exchange opinions about the times ("the new man in Washington," "this fellow Hitler," "Socialists . . . they're morons"), although these opinions have a plausible context of other opinions about golf, adultery, and the proper way of slapping up a highball. They go to a speakeasy to celebrate the New Deal, lean yearningly toward the disgraceful, and come home drunk and singing. The central thing about this story is the kind of understanding which the four chief characters exhibit toward their total social situation, and which the reader can recognize as representative. It is such a compound of shallow realism and downright error and illusion (the reader must supply this judg-

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ment) as to be entirely unavailing as a weapon against the situation; this is the source of the governing effect of the story, which is an effect of irony, pity, and not a little terror, now that history has shown us something more of its hand. When the Lohrmans are staggering home from the speakeasy, Henry sings "Git along little dogie, git along." They are all "little dogies," but only Mr. Farrell and the wise reader are in on the secret. "Well, we had something to celebrate," says Henry apologetically as he undresses for bed, and the remark functions as an epigram of the total meaning which the story has been accumulating, and also as a final crystallization of the ironic effect: it recalls the inadequacy of the Lohrmans' and the Robinsons' understanding of their broad historical predicament, and it plays upon the discrepancy between the fatal potentialities of that predicament and the couples' empty and ignorant "celebrating." Whoopee for the New Deal! is by my standards one of the most admirable sorts of short fiction that an author of Mr. Farrell's intellectual position and human sympathies could produce; a sort, that is to say, in which the psychological meaning is inseparable from the social meaning, since its materials are human experience *of* the crises of society. Unfortunately, in the present collection, the effort is scattered and the score is low.

E. S. FORGOTSON

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Semantics as a Rigorous Discipline

INTRODUCTION TO SEMANTICS. By Rudolf Carnap. Harvard University Press. $3.50.

PROFESSOR CARNAP'S semantical theory has very little immediate connection with the attempts of Korzybski, Stuart Chase, *et al.* to develop the hygiene of linguistic usage and communication. It is, rather, a rigorous science of the relations of signs to what they "designate," deriving, as the author indicates, from the pioneer discoveries of the Warsaw school of logicians, especially of Alfred Tarski, who is now in the United States. This "Introduction," the first of a series in preparation under the general heading "Studies in Semantics," is the only systematic treatment in English and will undoubtedly be a standard introduction to the subject for a long time to come.

Carnap is widely known as the chief spokesman for one of the most radical forms of scientific, anti-metaphysical philosophy—logical empiricism or logical positivism. Formulating his theses in the light of the technically abstruse results of contemporary symbolic logic, he has argued consistently that when the problems of empirical science have been set aside, what meaningfully remains for philosophy is the logical analysis of language. In his earlier writings—particularly "The Logical Syntax of Language"—logical analysis was understood as "syntax," that is, as analysis concerned with the order and arrangement of symbols without regard to their meaning. Now he finds it necessary to broaden the conception of philosophy so as to include the signifying function of language, that is, meaning and interpretation, which is the subject of "semantics," as well as the relation between the user of signs and the signs and meanings, which is the subject of "pragmatics." The general theory of signs and language, including syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, is called semiotic. Thus, as he now formulates his position, "*the task of philosophy is semiotical analysis;* the problems of philosophy concern—not the ultimate nature of being but—the semiotical structure of the language of science, including the theoretical part of everyday language."

The present book omits treatment of the problems of pragmatics, which have formed the major concern of traditional theories of knowledge. But the recognition that philosophy includes at least something more than the syntax of

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language may help to build bridges between logical empiricism and other forms of contemporary epistemology. Nevertheless, it is hardly likely that those who were not sympathetic before will become so now. Carnap's opponents have frequently shown a disinclination to read his books with sufficient care and understanding, a disinclination not mitigated by the fact that they presuppose a working familiarity with modern logic. The further fact that in his new book he devotes comparatively little space to the wider philosophic import of semantics promises little easing of that situation. On the other hand, philosophy has always included, and philosophers have always pursued, so much more than theory of knowledge that even the sympathetic may still be unconvinced that a diet of semiotic will suffice in the way of spiritual nourishment. ALBERT HOFSTADTER

The Haitian Revolution

THE HAITIAN PEOPLE. By James G. Leyburn. The Yale University Press. $4.

HAITI was the second country in the Western Hemisphere to free itself from Europe by means of a revolution. In this case the revolution, almost the only successful slave revolt in history, was a real one, directed toward a drastic modification of society. As a consequence, the colonial society of Haiti, made up of a master-class and slaves, was transformed into a peasantry of small Negro landowners. An intermediate stage, one which was definitely formative of contemporary *mores,* was a sort of agrarian state socialism, at times headed by Negro dictators.

Dr. Leyburn's concern in "The Haitian People" is to describe the social evolution outlined above as a prelude to a systematic account of its end products in terms of mental attitudes, beliefs, customs, and institutions. He does this with exhaustive scholarship and with generosity, though always with that conspicuous inadequacy as to cause and consequence notable in most sociological studies restricted to orthodox methods. For example, when Dr. Leyburn, commenting upon the decline of prosperity after the first revolutionary epoch of Toussaint, Dessalines, and Christophe, attributes it in part to the disappearance of compulsion to labor, his treatment, always richly suggestive, cannot fail to prompt other speculations. Expressly forbidding himself lengthy economic discussions, he does not ask how a market for surplus production on a money-crop basis might have been created, or how the popular will might have been animated. Nor does he clearly see in the peasant's indifference to politics and deliberate ignoring of formal law a protective device. Nevertheless, the author's descriptions (his scientific ideal is one of description, one feels) are vivid and sophisticated, especially in his discussions of the caste problem in its relation to politics.

"The Haitian People" has a greater value than that inherent in a solid history of one society. Its importance as an illumination of the problems of revolution and reform is in no way to be measured by the apparent unimportance of the case. The liberal reader will find himself constantly provoked to fresh and fruitful thought concerning such events as the Mexican and Russian revolutions. RALPH BATES

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IN BRIEF

THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE. By Alfred Neumann. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

Choosing a great theme for his latest story—Paris in 1870—and making all the gestures of writing an important and serious novel, Mr. Neumann has actually produced an incoherent and very dull book. He treats his historical characters —Clemenceau, Gambetta, Verlaine, and the rest—with a combination of flamboyance and knowingness that amounts to irresponsibility, and even his fictional characters, particularly his sixteen-year-old hero, are quite inadequate to the historical roles they are supposed to have played. If Mr. Neumann had in mind parallels between the Paris of seventy years ago and the Paris of more recent history, the lesson is lost in the muddy current of his narrative.

THE GRAND PIANO. By Paul Goodman. The Colt Press. $2.50.

Somewhere along in this Dada novel of infantile petulance and protest (query in passing: why are Dada novels always such Mama novels?) one of the characters says, "This public has already *got* all those shocks you mention. . . . There is only one way to make a dent. . . . *Boredom!* This they cannot endure." Mr. Goodman is quite right! And granted that the naturalistic techniques are only a prejudice, "The Grand Piano" is still no proof that post-naturalism can do anything (*except* bore) that naturalism plus talent plus a sensible modesty before the possibilities of fiction cannot do. This novel, by the way, is well below the level of talent that Mr. Goodman has shown in his short stories.

THE COPPER POT. By Oliver La Farge. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

This is the same old story of one man's coming of age in bohemia. Tom Hartshorn is a painter who has the Real Stuff but hasn't Found Himself. Beset by temptations female and artistic, he triumphs over them to paint the Copper Pot of the title and win the Award; then once more he is beset by temptations female and artistic. Add to the clichés of the story the filter of Harvard gentility through which the former Pulitzer prize-winner sees them, and perhaps it isn't only the fault of the times that a book about love and art in the Latin Quarter of New Orleans doesn't even make us nostalgic.

FATIGUE OF WORKERS: ITS RELATION TO INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION. By the Committee on Work in Industry of the National Research Council. Reinhold Publishing Company. $2.50.

In rather appalling technical language this book describes a series of studies on the general problem of fatigue and productivity. The results of the studies are highly significant. Contrary to ordinary opinion, it was found that such factors as intensity of illumination, heat, humidity, and hours of work were of minor importance in their effect on health and productivity as compared with psychological factors. While the efficiency of workers may be drastically affected by such physical factors as extreme heat and high altitude, the influence of these factors is in turn often modified by psychological conditions. Lack of understanding on the part of management of the forces which motivate workers, particularly their own informal social organization, may drastically influence production. Especially interesting are the experiments showing that where workers participated in the planning—in their own way—the results in increased production were far higher than those achieved by so-called "scientific management." As written, the book is unlikely to have very wide circulation, but a way should be found to place its conclusions in the hands of every factory executive, personnel manager, and trade-union leader.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

Send No Money. By Louis Asher and Edith Heal. Argus Press. $2.75.

Women in War Industries. By Helen Baker. Industrial Relations Section, Department of Economics and Social Institutions, Princeton University. $1.50.

Horse Sense in American Humor from Benjamin Franklin to Ogden Nash. By Walter Blair. Chicago. $2.75.

The Indian States and Indian Federation. By Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency. Macmillan. $1.25.

Writers in Crisis: The American Novel Between Two Wars. By Maxwell Geismar. Houghton Mifflin. $3.

Rationed Rubber and What to Do About It. By Williams Haynes and Ernst A. Hauser. Knopf. $1.75.

Reconstruction and Peace. By Julian Huxley. New Republic. 25 cents.

Europe in Revolt. By René Kraus. Macmillan. $3.50.

The Walter Clinton Jackson Essays in the Social Sciences. Edited by Vera Largent. North Carolina. $3.

The Impact of the War on America. Six Lectures by Members of the Faculty of Cornell University. Cornell. $2.

West with the Night. By Beryl Markham. Houghton Mifflin. $3.

Natalie Maisie and Pavilastukay. Two Tales in Verse. By John Masefield. Macmillan. $2.50.

Men Without Country. By Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall. Little, Brown. $1.50.

The Republic of Plato. Translated with Introduction and Notes by Francis MacDonald Cornford. Oxford. $3.

Geopolitics: The Struggle for Space and Power. By Robert Strausz-Hupé. Putnam's. $2.75.

The Tragic Career of Commodore James Barron, U. S. Navy (1769-1851). By Paul Barron Watson. Coward-McCann. $1.50.

The Allegheny. By Frederick Way, Jr. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

You Can't Be Too Careful. By H. G. Wells. Putnam's. $2.50.

One Man's Meat. By E. B. White. Harper. $2.50.

Government and Politics in the United States. By Harold Zink. Macmillan. $4.

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IN EARLY ISSUES OF THE NATION

A NEW bi-weekly literary page of informal commentary by disinguished writers. A preliminary list includes Louis Kronenberger, Joseph Wood Krutch, Mark Van Doren, Lionel Trilling, Irwin Edman, and Jacques Barzun. These little essays will deal with a great variety of subjects—books old and new, ideas important and tangential. They will be gay or serious or provocative. They will renew, for readers in a world at war, the pleasures and rewards of literature and the arts which are so great a source of strength and refreshment.

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MUSIC

A REVISED edition has been published of Rimsky-Korsakov's "My Musical Life" (Knopf; $5). The book does not give us the complete, objective history of the period of the flowering of Russian music that a scholar may construct some day from all available materials, including this autobiography. But it has the special fascination of the personal immediacy of an account by one who himself knew the men and participated in the events of the period.

What I have found especially interesting in the book is the material that has enabled me to understand how Rimsky-Korsakov was led to do what he did with Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov." A footnote gives Jean Marnold's much-quoted description of the revision: "The scene of Boris with his children is especially mutilated. Rimsky-Korsakov cuts . . . one, two, or three measures as serenely as he cuts fifteen or twenty. At will he transposes a tone, or a half-tone, makes sharps or flats natural, alters modulations. He even corrects the harmony. During the tableau in the cell of Pimyen the liturgical Dorian mode is adulterated by a banal D minor. The interval of the augmented fifth (a favorite device of Mussorgsky) is frequently the object of his equilateral ostracism. . . . From one end of the work to the other he planes, files, polishes, pulls together, retouches, embellishes, makes insipid, or corrupts. . . ." Imagine the analogous things being done to a painting, to a poem: you will see what violation of the integrity of another artist's work Rimsky-Korsakov committed; you will see also that it was one which no painter, no poet would commit or be allowed to commit.

The explanation of Rimsky-Korsakov's act begins in his description of the Balakirev circle. Balakirev, a brilliant musician and perceptive critic by virtue of gifts and experience that compensated for lack of formal schooling, and a magnetic personality, dominated the others: from him Cui, Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, and Borodin acquired their tastes in music; to him they brought their essays in composition, to be told how and how not to proceed; from him they got their attitude toward the craft of composition—that "there was no need of training: one must begin to compose outright, to create and learn through one's own work of creation." The error in this for them was that they had not had his long experience as a practicing musician to develop their talents. And as it worked out, what was technically unskilful in their work he corrected, what remained unfinished he did for them; only in this way was the piece made ready for performance or publication. And in addition to receiving criticism and help from Balakirev they criticized and helped each other.

From the start, then, there was this practice of mutual aid in composition; and later Rimsky-Korsakov's criticisms and suggestions to Borodin and Mussorgsky acquired additional authority, in his own mind, from the professional training that he gave himself and the professional positions that he occupied. The composer of the symphonic works "Sadko" and "Antar" and the opera "Maid of Pskov" was appointed professor of practical composition at the St. Petersburg Conservatory, and thought it necessary to know as much about harmony and counterpoint as his pupils; also, after he had exhausted the few devices he had used in those works "only the development of a technique . . . permitted new living currents to flow into my creative work"; and so he acquired a disciplined craftsmanship that enabled him to be steadily productive. The composers of the B minor Symphony and "Boris Godunov," on the other hand—without the schooling and discipline in composition for which they continued to express scorn, and with increasing disorganization in their daily lives—were able to compose only mere bits of "Prince Igor" and "Khovanchina." And it was Rimsky-Korsakov now, with Balakirev withdrawn from the musical world, who did what Balakirev had done. When Rimsky-Korsakov wished to perform excerpts from "Prince Igor" which he could not get Borodin to finish orchestrating, he and Lyadov had to help Borodin do the job in one evening. For another concert he had to orchestrate the Persian Dance from "Khovanchina" for Mussorgsky, who, he says, "was quite pleased with my work, although I had made many corrections in his harmonies and part-writing."

From this the next step was to complete the works when Borodin and Mussorgsky died leaving them collections of composed fragments, partly composed sketches, merely projected ideas. And the way had been prepared for the final step: When Mussorgsky died Rimsky-Korsakov "undertook to set in order and complete all of [his] works"—not just the ones that Mussorgsky had left incomplete and in disorder, but even the ones that he had left completed and in order—even "Boris Godunov," which not only had been completed but in its completed form had been found worthy of publication, of performance "with uninterrupted success" from 1874 to 1882; which had been brought to this completed form by years of work, of thought, of second thought, of consideration of what Rimsky-Korsakov believed it should be, of decision what Mussorgsky himself wanted it to be; and which, when he had made it what he wanted, nobody had a right to make anything else.

The way had been prepared; but the step was one that a painter or a poet would not have taken. He might have thought the equivalent of Rimsky-Korsakov's opinion of the technical faults in Mussorgsky's writing; he might have been, in Tovey's words, "a perky and conceited little mind" incapable "of telling a blunder from a stroke of genius or feature of style." He might have been also an arrogant, a vengeful little mind: he might have thought the equivalent of Rimsky-Korsakov's remark that Mussorgsky's light praise for a few things in "Snyegoorochka" and indifference to the rest were caused by "his fatuous self-conceit and conviction that the path he had chosen in art was the only true path," while his own conceit and conviction that *his* was the only true path gave him not indifference but a burning desire to impose his method on the other artist, a less conscious desire to avenge the slight to his method and work. He might have failed to understand that the other man's path *was* the only true one for him, and that his own was the true one only for himself; that technical training had indeed made his capacities strong and lack of it had indeed left the other man's weak, but that his strength was not transferable: since technique was acquired, and existed, in the different terms in which each artist was articulate in his medium, he could not alter the other man's technical practices in accordance with his own, without altering those terms of the man's personal artistic functioning. But he would have been restrained by one thing that he did understand—that another artist's work is inviolable. And it was Rimsky-Korsakov's failure to understand this that led him to his act of vandalism.

Moreover, a painter or a poet would not have been allowed to commit this act. But that will have to wait.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

The U. D. A. Gains a Member

Dear Sirs: After reading your indorsement of the Union for Democratic Action (*The Nation* of May 16) and after studying their literature, I forwarded to them my application for membership. The hole the dues have made in my military bank roll is nothing compared to the good I believe the organization can and will do. I have always wanted to be connected with such an organization because alone a person cannot do much against the enemies one is proud to have. But a united effort cannot fail.

By the way, after I finish *The Nation* each week four or five diligent readers ask me for it, and they in turn pass it on to several others. It takes an effort to find the time to read anything in the army, but it can be done.

I am hoping to be able to join the fight on the home front after the one I am now engaged in is over. I believe that victory in one of them is useless without victory in the other. Indeed, in the final analysis the two victories are one.

Your weapons are different, but they must be just as accurate and just as deadly, for our enemies are the same.

PRIVATE A. B. R.

Camp Livingston, La., June 8

Japanese Evacuation

Dear Sirs: As a native Californian old enough to have seen something of the Chinese problem and to have observed the successive phases of the Japanese problem, I regret that Charles Iglehart, in his article Citizens Behind Barbed Wire in your issue of June 6, did not give your readers a more balanced picture of the situation of the Japanese evacués. He seems not to have recognized the full seriousness and extreme difficulty of the problem as it existed in the minds of West Coast Americans, much less the careful consideration given by General DeWitt and his advisers to all its phases.

It must never be forgotten that Japanese evacuation from coastal areas was regarded as a military necessity. It was urged by thoughtful citizens long before it could be finally consummated. I have not doubted that most of my own numerous acquaintances among the Japanese, both alien and American-born, sincerely desired to be loyal to the United States; but they were among the ones who recognized the necessity of general evacuation, with full understanding that this necessity was thrust upon us by Japanese treachery and aggression. Many of them also felt the policy to be in the interest of their own safety, especially in the event of attack or threatened invasion of the West Coast.

Surely Mr. Iglehart must know the history of the Japanese question in California from the beginning of the century. How, then, can he conclude that "even as a war measure evacuation was unnecessary"—and what point can be gained by such an attitude now? He must know that those people have not been permitted freely to amalgamate with the whites; also that Japanese aliens are ineligible to American citizenship—which renders it quite unrealistic to compare them with Europeans and children of European parents.

I believe that the well-considered and efficient work of the appropriate authorities in handling an extremely difficult situation suddenly thrust upon them is deserving of sincere approbation.

ROCKWELL D. HUNT

Los Angeles, Cal., June 7

Dear Sirs: The question whether the evacuation from the West Coast of American citizens of Japanese descent was necessary or not may be a moot one; probably, had there been more time, a better method might have been found. The evacuation is however a *fait accompli* and must be accepted.

But much can still be said and done about the reception of our Japanese citizens in the resettlement areas. This reception has been disgraceful. There is not the slightest justification for the inland communities and states to act as if all the evacuated Japanese were undesirables and suspects. The reasons for this attitude are of course mainly economic ones, and much could be said about them.

But the point I wish to make here is this: It might be well to consider that these American-born citizens of Japanese descent, by accepting the evacuation, are playing their part in the defense just as truly as our soldiers at the front.

M. S. HEINEMANN

Bellingham, Wash., June 10

Washington Front

Dear Sirs: Gerald L. K. Smith's reply to your "Keep Them Out" article about him printed in the issue of May 16 should stimulate liberals to continue the fight to get a war-winning Congress. Mr. Smith seems to be upset. That alone is a clue to the result of this battle on the Washington front.

DANIEL LEVINE

Flushing, N. Y., June 11

"The Pope's Neutrality"

Dear Sirs: G. A. Borgese's article The Pope's Neutrality, in *The Nation* for May 30, was excellent and timely but it did not go deep enough. The Pope asks and prays for a negotiated peace. He abhors war, and his sensitive heart bleeds for the destruction wrought by Mars. But if the Pope is such a lover of peace, why, during the Spanish civil war, did he refuse to ask and work for a negotiated peace between the Loyalists and the Fascists? Two popes not only refused to remain neutral and aloof from the conflict but blessed the German-Italian-Moorish legions as they marched against the Spanish democratic government.

Why, then, this different behavior of the church before two phases of the same conflict? The answer is clear to those who know the real nature and aims of the Catholic church. During the Spanish civil war the Pope took sides with Franco because he was sure that he would be the winner. But the Pope is not sure now; hence he cloaks himself with a neutrality he is very far from feeling. Afraid of communism and the rising tide of liberalism and popular fronts, the Catholic church looked for its salvation to Hitler and Mussolini, whose philosophies are in harmony with its dogmatic and authoritarian doctrines. But now that the clash has come between democracy and despotism, the Pope finds three powerful enemies aligned against those who were his allies in Spain—England, Russia, and the United States. Russia is Communist; England and our country are not only democratic but Protestant. We know how the Catholic church feels toward communism and Protestantism. How can we expect the Pope to take our side?

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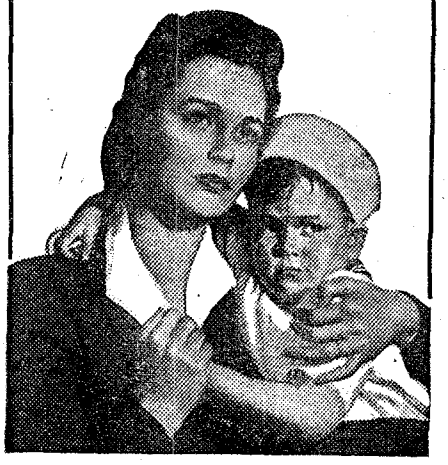

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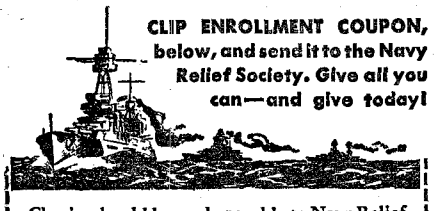

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The NATION
55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

It is obvious that the Pope is shivering at the prospect of a victory for Russia. Naturally he would rather have a negotiated peace, in other words, that the *status quo* should be maintained.

I agree with Mr. Borgese that "no institution will go changeless through the "infuriate tragedy," as the Pope calls it, "of this era." From the victory of democracy true Christianity has nothing to fear, but dogmatic, totalitarian, and materialistic Catholicism has everything. J. M. MARTINEZ

Miami, Fla., June 5

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